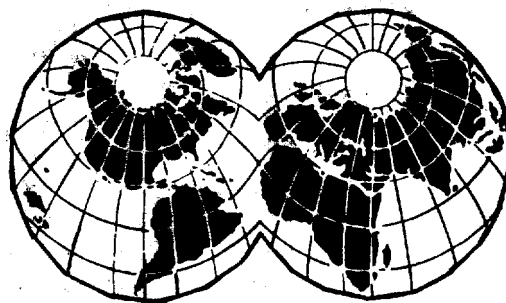


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World-wide Perspectives



KEY DATES

- 20 December - Day of Solidarity with National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (observed by international Communist fronts)
- 4-11 January - Havana Cultural Congress (representatives from Asia, Africa and Latin America)

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THE COMMUNIST CAMP

The vast assemblage of foreign Communist dignitaries in Moscow for the 50th Anniversary Celebration served to underscore its portrayal by the Soviets as a massive, unified Communist movement rallying to the support of the Soviet Union and the CPSU. However, the absence of several luminaries of the Communist world, MAO Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Fidel Castro, and of representatives of several Communist parties such as those of Holland and the non-bloc countries of the Far East except Australia, detracted from this impression of massive unity.

The big question in the Communist movement, that of an international Communist conference, was apparently still not definitively resolved during the Moscow celebrations, although several leaders did suggest publicly a meeting, or preparatory meeting, in 1968 and, according to one clandestine source, delegations from 17 or 18 parties will foregather in Budapest possibly late this year or early next. The prospect of such a meeting remains a very corrosive issue in the Communist movement, for the reasons discussed in the enclosed note on Principal Developments in World Communist Affairs.

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Cubans Sponsor Cultural Congress. The forthcoming Havana Cultural Congress, scheduled for 4-11 January 1968, is being touted by the Cuban Government as being as important as the TriContinental Conference of 1966 and the LASO meeting held in summer 1967. About 2000 invitations are said to have been issued to artists, writers and scientists from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Well known leftists such as Alfara Siquieros, Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and others are expected to attend. It is doubtful that the Congress will live up to the grandiose claims of the Cubans but it undoubtedly indicates the Cuban Government's intention to extend its subversive operations in the cultural field. As we have little evidence to substantiate the inflated announcements from Havana we do not wish to give undue attention to the conference. Rather, the field should be alert to the potential for trouble-making within the Communist parties and fronts which this event may create. (Attached are a news article giving further details on the Congress and excerpts from a statement issued by a preparatory seminar in Havana which concluded, among other things, that "The cultural event par excellence is revolution.")

Recall of Peking's Ambassadors. In December 1966 Peking had 47 diplomatic establishments abroad of which 42 were embassies headed by full-fledged ambassadors. Today, Peking has two embassies headed by ambassadors -- those in the UAR and Albania -- and at this writing the ambassador to Albania is not at his post. In addition to the ambassadors, almost 1,000 other Chinese officials have been recalled for reasons never explained to the outside world. Today at least 40 of Peking's embassies are headed by chargés, first or second secretaries, or even lower ranking officers. It appears the Cultural Revolution has claimed another victim. Before MAO Tse-tung completely destroys what remains of his foreign service, perhaps he would do well to reflect on the value of an experiment which, in a single year, has made shambles of an entire diplomatic corps.

The Canton Trade Fair. Despite reports of fighting and violence up to the last minute, the postponed Canton Fair opened officially on 15 November for a month. The opening day speech by the provincial governor included an attack on Hong Kong's "Fascist authorities" helping to confirm rumors about the withdrawal of invitations to Chinese representatives of Hong Kong British firms. After the speech 3,000 presumably non-proletarian businessmen sang "East is Red". There have been travelers' tales of 4,000 anti-MAOists in the environs of Canton disrupting the city by attempting to set fire to its six main hotels and defacing MAO portraits hanging everywhere in public places. 50X1-HUM

[REDACTED] In dealing with reports which may arise claiming huge foreign attendance at the Fair, treat the reports sceptically as incorrect or exaggerated by the highly questionable "unidentified trade sources" to whom they were credited.

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New Communist Front Group in Africa and Asia. Since early this year the Soviet Union and its Bloc allies have been quietly building up a corps of young people who are trained and dispatched abroad ostensibly "to aid" developing countries. According to the attached news article, they are actually selected and trained by the KGB and Bloc intelligence services for espionage and, when they arrive at their posts abroad, their activities are supervised by local Soviet and Bloc intelligence agents. The youth corps, with headquarters in Budapest, has been named "The International Youth Service of Solidarity and Friendship." Young people, male or female, go abroad as teachers, nurses, and as specialists in various fields -- mainly to Afro-Asian countries -- where they are accepted as genuine volunteers. According to a recent article in Prague's RUDE PRAVO, one thousand such "volunteers" have already been sent out and plans call for a total of 2,500 by the end of this year.

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Hanoi's Problems with Elongated Supply Lines. North Vietnam's recruiting in South Vietnam is down from some 7,000 new soldiers a month to around 3,500 today -- and still declining. As a result, Hanoi has been forced to send more PAVN (Peoples' Army of Vietnam) units south to fill out the ranks of what Hanoi persists in calling "an indigenous guerrilla force". North Vietnamese soldiers now fighting in the south total over 100,000, more than half of the Communist fighting forces in Vietnam. Getting supplies to these men is becoming increasingly difficult for Hanoi because the Allies are gradually gaining control of the rice-growing regions in South Vietnam, and Allied bombing of supply routes from North to South Vietnam has seriously interfered with the southward movement of food, clothing and military supplies. In fact, there seems little doubt that one of the major reasons for the Viet Cong proposal for three holiday truces (3 days each at Christmas and New Year and 7 days over the Vietnamese New Year - Tet) is to give Hanoi a breather during which she can get more materiel into the supply channels for her soldiers fighting in South Vietnam.

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FOR BACKGROUND USE ONLY

Principal Developments in World Communist Affairs

(18 October to 16 November 1967)

1. The Soviets' celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution was a milestone in the development of Communism in that country and a major event for the entire Communist camp. Its effect on a prospective world Communist conference and on Soviet-Cuban relations are discussed in separate paragraphs below. Other notable aspects of the Moscow celebrations include:

a. The clear ascendancy of Leonid Brezhnev over the other two members of the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny troika. It was he who dedicated the new Lenin statue in the Kremlin, made the major addresses in Moscow 3-4 November and Leningrad on 5 November, and acted as principal host and speaker at the Kremlin reception. He received deferential treatment in speeches by all the republic first secretaries -- some so extravagantly personally laudatory they were not carried subsequently in the central press. Even Marshal Grechko pointedly toasted "the Central Committee, CPSU, the Politburo, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev." Minimal attention was given by speakers to "collective leadership." While Brezhnev pledged continuation and strengthening of this principle once briefly and in passing, no other speaker touched this point.

b. As was to be expected, the speakers conscientiously whitewashed the Soviet past. Brezhnev's keynote address dwelled almost exclusively on the positive achievements of the Soviet system. Lenin bulked large in his account but Stalin and Khrushchev remained unnamed; moreover, no reference is even made to the "cult of the personality" or "subjectivism" -- the terms normally used to describe their reigns.

c. The vast assemblage of foreign party dignitaries served to underscore the portrayal of the event by Moscow as a massive, unified display of the Communist movement rallying to the support of the USSR and the CPSU. Podgorny's speech at the opening of the 3 November gathering greeted by name 74 "Marxist-Leninist" delegations and 25 "progressive" groups, representing a total of 95 countries. PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA carried articles by top party leaders from all the bloc countries represented at the celebration except Cuba and North Korea.

d. However there were absences and flaws which served to underscore certain gaps in this "massive unity." Apart from China and Albania, whom nobody expected anyway, the Dutch Communist Party was not represented nor were any non-bloc Communist Parties from the Far East except Australia's. Japan was represented by the Socialist Party of Japan and not by the Japanese Communist Party. The North Korean delegation was led by the head of state, while

other bloc delegations, except Cuba's, were led by their party leaders. Cuba was represented neither by its party leader nor government chief, but by its Minister of Health.

e. Even some of those who did attend did so with misgivings. Yugoslavia, for example, was wary of possible efforts to take advantage of the presence of these Communist leaders by the Soviets to convene some sort of rump conference of Communist and workers' parties. Several articles in the Yugoslav press also disparaged Moscow's efforts to press its position as "first among equals" and even hinted that perhaps the Soviets might learn a bit from the Yugoslav example. President Tito was reportedly irritated with the Soviets for censoring an article he wrote before it was reprinted by PRAVDA, which deleted -- among other things -- critical references by Tito to the Comintern's policy toward Yugoslavia in the Stalinist period.

f. A one-sentence greeting from the Chinese National People's Congress and the CPR State Council to the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Council of Ministers pointedly ignored the CPSU and thus, by implication, demonstrated that the Chinese do not acknowledge a party-level relationship with the Soviets. The Chinese greeting was not included in a collection of messages printed by PRAVDA on 7 and 8 November. Conjointly the Chinese mounted an intensified propaganda campaign to denigrate the Soviet regime at the time of its jubilee celebrations. The campaign had two basic dimensions: to indict the Soviet leadership -- supported by a flood of attacks constituting a bill of particulars against the regime's policies -- for having betrayed the revolution and restored capitalism, and to claim that Mao Tse-tung is the supreme Marxist-Leninist mentor of the present era and Peking the capital of world revolution.

2. Soviet-Cuban relations took a turn for the worse as a result of the Moscow anniversary celebrations. Although the leaders of other ruling Communist parties (excepting North Korea, China, North Vietnam, and Albania) represented their countries in Moscow, Castro stayed in Havana, sending the Minister of Health, Jose R. Machado, instead. Additionally, Castro failed to send an article in praise of the Soviet Union to be published in PRAVDA along with those of everyone else except China and Albania; the Cuban Ambassador in Moscow failed to attend the 6 November reception for chiefs of diplomatic missions given by Soviet President Podgorny; and Machado failed to make a congratulatory address at the Kremlin celebration (it's not clear whether he refused to, or wasn't asked to). The world's press buzzed with rumors of a Soviet-Cuban "split" as a result of these snubs, and almost universally failed to note that Castro, Dorticos and the entire leadership of Cuba turned up at the Soviet Embassy's reception on 6 November and enjoyed themselves immensely. The press also paid little attention to the speech by the Soviet charge d'affaires in Havana who pledged his country's continued

economic and military support to Cuba. Undoubtedly Castro's calculated snubs did irritate the Kremlin, but it is doubtful they will pack up and leave that tropical isle just because Fidel didn't come to their party.

3. The question of an eventual world Communist conference was very much in the air in Moscow. Several luminaries, such as Czechoslovakia's Novotny and East Germany's Ulbricht, openly called for a meeting in 1968. Agence France Presse on 8 November quoted "foreign communist sources" in Moscow to the effect that there is a growing likelihood of an international Communist conference being held in Budapest in the first quarter of 1968, but cites "doubt" among these same sources as to whether this will be "the big conference" or merely a preparatory one. The sources are quoted as saying that a poll of world parties revealed "a majority of 70" in favor of a conference -- the figure used by V. Polyanskiy in a talk broadcast by Radio Moscow on 21 October. The Soviets' position in requesting a conference was strengthened by an article by Italian Communist Party Secretary General Luigi Longo on 27 October in which he said that the rejection by the Chinese Communists of Soviet proposals for joint aid to Vietnam has led the Italian Party to abandon its past reserve on the need for a new international Communist conference "to increase unity."

As viewed by a Communist, the proposal is loaded with problems such as: In Europe such a conference would revive the danger of the Red peril, evoking the ghosts of the Comintern and the Cominform, providing material for all the anti-Communists and disrupting the advances already made toward unity with the Social Democrats in many countries. In many countries of Africa and the Middle East the Communist parties are insignificant and the leading revolutionary parties are not Communist; thus the conference would not even be representative of the revolutionary movement in those areas. In certain areas in Latin America the revolutionary movement is divided between two or more contenders; choosing only the Communist Party would thus overlook a major part of the revolutionary forces. In the Far East the problem of Vietnam would provoke a major crisis by forcing the North Vietnamese to choose, against their will, between Moscow and Peking -- a choice which might be fatal either way. Furthermore, pre-empting the pro-North Vietnam position would risk alienating many other supporters of that country who have no desire only to follow a Communist lead. Finally, although some parties seem to believe the conference could be held without discussing the role of Communist China in the international Communist movement, this seems absurdly unlikely; on the other hand discussing Communist China would irremediably solidify the schism in the Communist world.

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THE MIAMI HERALD
5 November 1967

Castro Will Sponsor Leftist 'Cultural Congress'

By CARLOS MARTINEZ
Of Our Latin America Staff

The Cuban government, obsessed with what it calls the U.S. "penetration in the field of Latin American culture," is preparing to do something about it.

The Castro regime has announced it will sponsor an international cultural congress in Havana Jan. 4-11 with the purpose, among other things, of blocking an alleged "imperialist cultural offensive."

The congress, according to the government-controlled press, will bring together an estimated 500 left-of-center "scientists, technicians and artistic and literary creators" from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Cuba says it has invited both "socialist" and "capitalist" intellectuals, foremost among them British philosopher Bertrand Russell. Those from the capitalist world are described as "progressive intellectuals," a Communist synonym for the far left.

"Together, these men will discuss the role of the intellectual in the insurrectional struggle, which is to take up arms," a Havana Radio broadcast monitored in Miami said. "They should set the example."

One of the congress organizers, Jose Antonio Portuondo, compared the coming event to two previous Havana-sponsored international conferences where violence was proclaimed as the only road to "liberation."

"Havana's Cultural Congress next January is of the same importance and significance as the Tricontinental Conference (January, 1966) and the conference of the Latin American Solidarity Organization (July 1967)," according to Portuondo, who is second vice president of the Cuban Writers' and Artists' Union (UNEAC).

The approaching conference, Portuondo hinted, aimed at warning intellectuals of what Cuba describes as a "reaction" by Washington after "suddenly discovering the importance of intellectual movements as a political force."

Cuba's cultural establishment declared a "state of alert" in July 1966 over what it charged was a "new imperialist penetration in the field of culture..."

The Cubans were particularly aroused by the fact that Washington, "after 20 years of not doing so," began granting visas to a number of leftist writers and artists. This was done, the Cubans reasoned, for the purpose of converting these people "into court apes and Yankee spokesmen."

The U.S., Cuban intellectuals complain, "is searching for men who, pretending to speak in our name, will present the revolution and violence as being in bad taste."

"We have the duty to warn these intellectuals, because even without wanting to, they are playing into the enemy's hands..."

Havana's congress is expected to reiterate Cuba's "right to watch over, judge and criticize the conduct, mores and public pronouncements of Latin American Marxist intellectuals."

As the hemisphere's only Communist state, Cuba has put forward a claim that the island should also be the cultural leader of Latin America, or at least the ideological arbiter of the hemisphere's leftist intellectuals.

The latter was hinted last week by Alejo Carpentier, regarded as Cuba's leading novelist under Castro. He told a French daily that the present Cuban literature "is without doubt the richest one, the most personal and the most original of the Latin American continent."

The conference agenda, which promises to be a massive one, was methodically analyzed and discussed during a one-week preparatory seminar that closed Wednesday. Some 2,000 Cuban "intellectual workers" attended.

Subjects discussed during the seminar included the role of mass media, the "penetration of the imperialist culture," and the role

of the "neo-colonial state" as "the promoter of foreign domination."

Also discussed were other abstract matters such as culture under "colonialism" and "neo-colonialism," the integral formation of the "new" man through culture,

the relationships between "racism and imperialism," and the role of the proletariat in cultural development.

A controversial subject brought up by Castro more than a year ago, the renunciation of international copyrights, was aired at the seminar and approved for inclusion in the congress agenda despite considerable opposition.

A government hard-liner, Lisandro Otero, a writer, introduced the subject claiming that culture was the "patrimony of the people." He said renunciation of copyrights was "a matter of principles for which there are no alternatives."

Otero's words introduced an element of dissent into the otherwise friendly discussions. Despite their subservience to the regime's political aims, half of the intellectuals attending the debate left the room in anger. The matter was approved anyway.

Cuba maintains that, in sponsoring the congress, it will be offering the delegates "an opportunity of undeniable value" to learn from the island's example.

"As a country liberated from the claws of neo-colonialism and imperialism, Cuba will certainly be able to make great cultural contributions for the benefit of the peoples of the world," said a short-wave Cuban broadcast to the hemisphere.

(Excerpts from statement issued by a seminar organized by the Cuban Preparatory Committee for the Havana Cultural Congress as reported by PRENSA LATINA, 3 November 1967)

The cultural event par excellence is revolution. Only revolution makes it possible for underdeveloped countries to conceive of a truly national culture, a cultural policy returning to the people their real identity and a chance to advance science and enjoy art

The right to insubordination should not then be preached but practiced. Only through concrete action does the intellectual become society's conscience, an expression of its critical thought, a forecast of what will one day be reality, and in this sense a factor in creating and developing the subjective conditions necessary for the liberating rebellion. No example is better than the one given by Che to bear out this fact

Mass communications media serve to distort development in colonized countries and promote development in countries engaged in revolution. In the first case, they are a tool of the broadest and most persistent penetration by the interest of the tutor state Skillfully handled by imperialism and the national bourgeoisie, they are inimical to the essential function of current history: wars of liberation

Even in this situation, occasions and differences must be seized on so that mass media can contribute to the task of decolonization and liberation of our peoples. Clandestine publications and movies and radio broadcasts, for instance, have a vital function to perform in the processes of national liberation: that of political orientation....

This is the historical and social context surrounding the task of forming new intellectual cadres that retain those traditions, create new ones, and forge a communist consciousness. To undertake national liberation is to rend imperialism, and this involves first of all preparing all the people for the most violent manifestation of culture: the popular war in defense of their freedoms

DAILY STAR, Beirut
5 November 1967

KGB SETS UP PEACE CORPS

By LAJOS LEDERER

LONDON — The Soviet Union and her East European allies are quietly copying the West, and building up a Peace Corps of young people who are being sent out ostensibly "to aid developing countries."

The "Red Peace Corps," which has its headquarters in Budapest, was established early this year without much publicity. Its official title is "The International Youth Service of Solidarity and Friendship." All of the Eastern bloc countries are taking part, with the exceptions of Romania and Yugoslavia.

The corps recruits are carefully selected by the security services of each country, and supervised by the local agents of the Soviet secret police, the KGB. The average age of those selected is between 23 and 33, and only fully-qualified graduates are taken on. According to a Hungarian member of this organization, who has operated in Turkey for the past six months and has since defected to the West, the Red Peace Corps is an auxiliary of the Communist intelligence services, and its main task is to enrol spies among students abroad, mainly in the Afro-Asian countries.

Members of the Red Peace Corps are supplied with funds and gifts, which they offer to potential recruits. Most of them are trained engineers, agricultural specialists of various disciplines, veterinary experts, agronomists and agricultural mechanics. Attractive girls are also recruited as "nurses and teachers."

Behind this smokescreen, they are accepted by the developing countries, to which they are despatched as genuine "volunteers."

It is ironical therefore that the reason why the Communists have given little publicity to this new youth service and its activities is, that their press is continuously attacking the U.S. Peace Corps and similar organizations in Britain and Germany as covers for "espionage and sabotage."

Judging by the occasional paragraphs in East European party papers, like the one which appeared recently in the Prague "Rude Pravo," 1,000 "volunteers" have already been sent to developing countries, plus 400 to the Mongolian People's Republic, and about 300 to Cuba.

Published plans have called for 2,500 "volunteers" to be sent to the developing nations by the end of this year.

A Bulgarian report indicates that these "volunteers" are expected to remain in the nation to which they are assigned for about two years, although some are apparently taken on for as little as three months "for specific tasks." Specific projects in which the "corps" is involved, include a technical school in India, a hospital in Cyprus and medical aid teams in Congo-Brazzaville.

Board and lodging for the volunteers is paid by the youth movement of the host country, which also pays them \$3 a week pocket money. Travel fares are shared jointly between host and guest country.

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NEW YORK TIMES

29 October 1967

(2) *Sato's Recent Journey in Asia Viewed as Beneficial to West*

By ROBERT TRUMBULL
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Oct. 28—The dominant view of analysts here is that Premier Eisaku Sato's recent tour of 10 Southeast Asian and Pacific countries has produced a number of significant effects on the international scene, all of benefit to the non-Communist camp in the world ideological struggle.

Mr. Sato returned home a week ago from Saigon, his last stop on a journey that had also taken him to Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Burma and Laos.

As analysts in the Japanese Government and in foreign embassies see it, the most important immediate result of the 66-year-old leader's arduous travels in the last six weeks may prove to be the new projection of Japan into the affairs of the region.

Support for U.S. Seen

From the United States point of view, as stated by American officials here, an especially satisfying aspect of Mr. Sato's trips has been to align Japan more firmly on the side of Washington in Vietnam and against Communist designs generally in the developing states of Southeast Asia.

A spin-off benefit in domestic politics, for Mr. Sato himself and for the conservative elements that support him, has been an apparent diminution of effective left-wing opposition to the Government.

The death of a student in an airport clash between policemen and campus radicals as Mr. Sato was departing for South Vietnam has boomeranged against the left. Had there been real public support for leftist opponents of the Sato policies, it is said, the result could have been a huge outpouring against the Government.

Looking back on the incident, the analysts have concluded that the popular opposition to the Sato Government's support of the United States in Vietnam is less solidly based than many local and foreign observers had supposed.

Fears Believed Receding

"It is obvious," an American official said yesterday, "that the fears of Japanese that the bombing of North Vietnam would widen the conflict have now receded."

The analysts expect agitation here against the developments in Vietnam to be confined to demonstrations, a routine thing in Japan, so long as it continues to appear that the war is no threat to the comfortable Japanese way of life.

A Japanese diplomat, who followed Mr. Sato's statements closely during his tour, noted that the references to Vietnam in various communiqués were tailored to fit local outlooks. For example, in the countries inclined toward a neutral stand there was reference to a peace agreement among "all parties," a wording that seemingly would permit inclusion of the Vietcong. The phrase among others, did not appear in the communiqué from Saigon.

On the other hand, at a news conference in Bangkok, Thailand, Mr. Sato voiced an unusually strong endorsement of the demand by Washington that a halt in bombing of the North be accompanied by some reciprocal gesture from Hanoi.

"Japan has given the United States stronger support on the Vietnam issue than any other ally that is supplying military forces," an American analyst declared.

Reluctance to Read More

There was a reluctance in both foreign and Japanese diplomatic quarters to try to read any more into the joint communiqué signed by Mr. Sato and the Saigon Government than appears on the surface of the wording.

"The communiqué wasn't important to the South Vietnamese anyway," Japanese official said. "They were delighted enough that the Premier of Japan was there."

Mr. Sato's four-hour stopover in Saigon, cut short because of the death of former Premier

Shigeru Yoshida, is thought to have given him a keener perception of the urgencies of the situation in Vietnam.

And the Japanese leader's conversations with sources having closer contacts with the North Vietnamese, notably in Burma and Laos, were believed to have added somewhat to his insight into the thinking of Hanoi.

It was considered more significant, in the long view, that Mr. Sato appeared on the scene at a crucial moment in the political maturing of Burma, Singapore and Indonesia. Some Japanese authorities thought it a fortunate coincidence that the leader of one of the world's most successful free-enterprise systems appeared when the three nations were at a peak of disenchantment with the Socialist experiment embodied in Communist China.

WASHINGTON STAR
20 October 1967

(3)

Support From Down Under

Australia's External Affairs Minister, Paul Hasluck, made a statement to the U.N. General Assembly last week which is worthy of more than passing attention. And since Australia can hardly be classed as a "client state," we trust that his remarks will be duly noted by Senator Fulbright and all others who share the Arkansas senator's views on the war in Vietnam.

Australia is assisting South Vietnam with both troops and civilian aid. An increase in the Australian troop commitment has just been announced in Canberra. And Australia also made its contribution to both great wars in Europe. Australia, in short, believes in freedom and opposes aggression.

Mr. Hasluck wanted to know whether his country was right in standing up for these things in Europe but wrong in standing up for them in Asia. He went on to say: "Unfortunately, this is still a world in which peace is kept and security maintained by military power. . . . Are such realities as these to be recognized only in one hemisphere and not in another? Are arguments that peace and security are global to be true in European or Atlantic power situations but not true when crises of power arise in Asia and the Pacific?"

The Australian representative con-

(3 cont'd)

cluded on this note: "Surely we are using double standards and falsifying the issues if, recognizing the realities of power, we find it improper or worse for one small nation to be protected by a great ally but unexceptional for some other small nation to be protected by its ally."

We have seen nothing which states the case better for what the United States and its allies are doing in South Vietnam, or which more effectively reveals the hollowness, one might say the disingenuousness, of the arguments used to condemn what is being done.

WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS
18 October 1967

Welcome— and Thanks

SIMPLY in numbers, the addition of 4370 troops to the Allied side in the Vietnamese war is no great military boost — tho everything helps. The real significance lies in the fact that the countries these troops come from are willingly moving deeper into South Vietnam — they are not moving away.

The three countries are all in the immediate neighborhood:

✓ Australia announced yesterday it will raise its contingent in Vietnam from 6300 to 8000 by year's end — a chiefly new army battalion supported by helicopters.

✓ New Zealand said it would send a 170-man infantry company to Vietnam shortly, to join the infantry company and artillery battery there now, and making a total of 546 men.

✓ Three weeks ago the first contingent of the Royal Thai Army Volunteer Regiment arrived in Saigon — the first of 2500 troops joining the Allies from the sixth nation to help out with ground forces. (The United States, South Korea and the Philippines are the others.)

Since governments around the world act on the basis of national self-interest as they conceive it, the men in office in Canberra, Wellington and Bangkok must know what they are doing. They obviously feel they are meeting a responsibility, protecting their countries against a danger, joining in a common task that, tho costly and unpleasant, is worthwhile and promises success.

JAPAN TIMES
10 Oct. 67

Japan to Help Saigon Train Farming Experts

A plan to help the South Vietnamese Government train agricultural experts by sending 388 instructors from Japan to the agricultural faculty of a South Vietnamese national university over a period of 11 years is now taking shape here.

The plan is being promoted by the Vietnam Committee, composed of Japanese Dietmen belonging to the Asian Parliamentary Union (APU).

According to the committee, the plan calls for sending Japanese assistant professors and lecturers to the agricultural faculty of the University of Can Tho located in Can Tho in the heart of the Mekong Delta, about 120 km. southwest of Saigon.

The university was founded last year and at present it has the faculties of literature and law and social studies.

It plans to open the faculty of agriculture next year and the faculties of science and medicine in the future.

The South Vietnamese Government plans to establish the faculty of agriculture over a period of five years at a cost of 750 million piasters (about ¥2,200 million).

Five hundred students will be enrolled for a term in the faculty and another 100 in the graduate school.

The Vietnam Committee plans to open five agricultural courses at the university—agriculture, stock breeding, horticultural science, agricultural engineering, and agricultural economy.

The program is expected to cost a total of about ¥2,000 million over the 11 years including all the expenses for the Japanese teachers each of whom is to stay one year at the university.

The fund is expected to come from both the Government and private sources.

From the third year, outstanding agricultural students will be invited to study in Japan, according to the plan.

26 Sept 67

SAIGON DAILY NEWS

SRC to send pediatric team to Vietnam

SAIGON (VP)— The Swiss Red Cross will dispatch a medical team to South Vietnam to serve at the pediatric ward of the Civilian Hospital of Da Nang.

The team composed of one physician and three specialist nurses will supervise the installation of equipment, run the ward and help the training of Vietnamese medical teams.

The team leader, Dr. Peter Sigg, will arrive in Saigon early next month. He will be accompanied by two specialist nurses and Dr. Werner Glinz in charge of the Kontum Hospital.

For the past two years, the Swiss Red Cross has provided material and financial aid as well as personnel for a hospital in Kontum. Its doctors have also assisted in other medical activities in the neighboring areas. The SRC has just completed a pediatric ward at the Civilian Hospital of Da Nang.

Sources from the RVN Embassy in Switzerland disclosed that although a non-aligned country Switzerland has established diplomatic relations with the Republic of Vietnam since March 1 last year. The "Terra des Hommes" a charitable organization headquartered in Lausanne has taken many Vietnamese children to Europe for medical treatment.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

19 October 1967

Goal: peace

Australia adds Viet troops

By Albert E. Norman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Canberra

The Australian Government's decision to increase its Vietnam task force from 6,300 to more than 8,000 men will double its actual frontline firepower.

This means two battalion groups now will be in the line while one is resting. Prime Minister Harold E. Holt, announcing his government's decision, said that in Vietnam "the tide of Communist expansion is being checked and turned."

In short there is no stalemate, in his opinion. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor stressed the same point during his July talks here with the Australian Government.

There is no doubt that the latest Australian troop increase is due to the Taylor mission. While the question of any troop increase was publicly played down at that time, Mr. Holt described General Taylor's briefing as "very informative."

As Mr. Holt's latest statement to Australia's House of Representatives shows, this information made clear that "military pressures must be sustained and indeed increased" in Vietnam.

Negotiations sought

This build-up was necessary, as Mr. Holt put it, "if we are to secure even more decisive results in the field—results which might lead North Vietnam to negotiations."

This view also explains the Australian Government's continuing strong support for the United States bombing policy. And as Australian Treasurer William McMahon recently put it to Americans, "Where you go, we will go."

In the Vietnam air war, this is literally true. In the latest Australian troop increase, Australian Air Force pilots are being made available for service with United States attack squadrons.

But as Australian External Affairs Min-

ister Paul M. Hasluck puts it, "There is too much talk on whether to bomb or not to bomb. Bombing is not the real issue. Peace is the issue."

Speaking on this question, Prime Minister Holt told the House, "The North Vietnamese leaders have turned down every approach [for peace talks] public and private."

Objective defined

"They have made it clear that even if talks did begin they would keep up their own military effort. So we must press on with our action in Vietnam to ensure that the people of South Vietnam shall not be conquered by aggression. . . .

"This was our first and only military objective—it remains our only military objective," said Mr. Holt.

Prior to General Taylor's mission, Mr. Holt said that in assessing what added effort Australia could make in Vietnam it would be necessary to take into account any provision Australia would need to make in Malaysia and elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Since no new forces have been committed elsewhere, the Holt government appears to be relying on increasing the national draft if more forces are needed outside Vietnam.

In Australia's present "forward defense" planning, the aim is to build up troop strength until a full division can be deployed overseas at any time. But just how the present limited draft policy would be shaped to this end remains to be seen.

Draft expansion issue?

In his latest troop increase, Mr. Holt has set the stage politically for a new draft expansion. Next month the Australian Government will face the Senate elections. And its new Vietnam troop increase has ensured these will develop into "khaki campaign."

Vietnam will be the central issue. And a government victory could be interpreted fairly by Mr. Holt as public support for any required draft expansion.

Most Australians realize that their country's stand in Vietnam is as much for them as it is for the South Vietnamese people. The stress which the Australian Government places in this context on the aggressiveness of Communist China means that in Australian official eyes the Vietnam war is a delaying action.

Accordingly, any acceptable solutions which the Chinese people themselves may produce in the face of the problems imposed on them by the Peking Communist regime will be of great importance to Australia.

Equally important is the increase in power and strength of the free peoples of Southeast Asia.

NEW YORK TIMES

3 November 1967

Malaysia Considering Increase in Aid to Vietnam

Rahman Informs Humphrey Rural-Construction Project May Be Reinstated

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia, Nov. 2—The leaders of small but rapidly developing Malaysia told Vice President Humphrey today that they were considering increasing their non-military aid to South Vietnam.

Mr. Humphrey told the Malaysians that the United States would probably step up its technical assistance to Malaysia to help solve her housing problem and establish building cooperatives, credit unions and savings and loan associations.

Mr. Humphrey, who flew here from South Vietnam yesterday, met for two hours with the Prime Minister, Prince Abdul Rahman, and his Cabinet. The Malaysian Foreign Ministry announced afterward that they had had "very frank and friendly discussions" on several

subjects, particularly Vietnam. "The Prime Minister reiterated," the statement said, "that while Malaysia is not involved militarily, she is prepared to go all out to offer any help that might be required of her in the peaceful, constructive program of development in that country."

The Malaysian leaders told Mr. Humphrey that they intended to reinstitute a program of aid to South Vietnam in rural development, an area in which the Malaysians have shown skill.

Malaysia had such an aid program during the rule of President Ngo Dinh Diem, who was overthrown and assassinated in Saigon in 1963. The program was dropped afterward because of the difficulties of dealing with a succession of unstable Vietnamese governments.

Mr. Humphrey gave the Malaysians an optimistic assessment of the new Saigon Government, but warned that the next six months would be critical in its effort to gain popular support.

It is understood that the Ma-

laysian leaders had volunteered the information that they were thinking of more aid to South Vietnam and that the Vice President had not asked for it. The Malaysians did ask for an increase in United States technical assistance, and Mr. Humphrey promised to try to get it for them.

Malaysia supports South Vietnam in the war but has sent no troops. She has trained about 4,000 South Vietnamese in counterinsurgency methods, based on her own success in suppressing Communist guerrilla warfare.

During her earlier aid program to South Vietnam, Malaysia sent some Malay tribesmen to the South Vietnamese Highlands to promote rural development among the tribes there.

The tribesmen were brought home after the fall of President Diem.

Prince Abdul Rahman was reported to have told Mr. Humphrey that if the Communists were not stopped in South Vietnam, the Chinese would move into the rest of Southeast Asia, including Malaysia.

Thailand to Put a Division in Vietnam

By Jack Foisie
Los Angeles Times

BANGKOK, Nov. 14 — The Thailand government announced today it will increase its combat contingent in South Vietnam to a full division — about 10,000 to 12,000 men. There are now 2300 Thais fighting alongside American and Vietnamese allies.

The increase, approved at a cabinet meeting, raises Thailand's contribution in the Vietnam struggle to third largest, behind that of the United States and South Korea. It also is certain to bring more denunciations from Hanoi and Peking, whose leaders have attacked the Thai for providing airfields from which the U.S. Air Force does most of its bombing of North Vietnam.

The Thai military government moved relatively rapidly toward this major commitment, perhaps reflecting the concern of Thai officials over the swelling antiwar sentiment

in the United States and President Johnson's political problems as he faces an election year. It is known that Mr. Johnson has sought more military support in Vietnam from Asian nations.

[The State Department in Washington expressed satisfaction with the Thai decision. Its spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey, said "the substantial contribution is further evidence of allied solidarity in supporting the government of Vietnam and the security of Southeast Asia."

[U.S. officials also confirmed that the U.S. is holding discussions with Thailand over handling the Thai troop contribution and acknowledged that questions of Thai air defense and the supply of Hawk ground-to-air missiles was being discussed.]

The Thai cabinet approval presumably meant agreement had been reached with the

United States over increased military aid, both for the Vietnam-bound force and for Thailand's 90,000-man army.

U.S. officials would not disclose terms other than to say the new expeditionary contingent would be equipped with U.S. weapons and equipment, as was the initial unit.

The Thai announcement did not say when the new force would be sent to Vietnam. If infantry training follows the pattern of the past, troops will be combat-ready in three to six months. U.S. advisers assist in the training.

The announcement did say the division would be recruited from "volunteers." Although civilians volunteered for the original unit sent to Vietnam, only regular army volunteers were accepted. The unit has been in combat about a month and has lost eight dead.

Page Denied

LONDON TIMES
28 August 1967

TIBETANS FLEE RED GUARD TERROR Freedom of worship is suppressed

In a surprise mass exodus hundreds of Tibetans have crossed into India to escape a local Red Guard movement which is "attempting to purify Tibet with Mao's thoughts" in form of religious persecutions.

Nearly 500 refugees have already escaped across the mountains and report that thousands more will cross if they can evade Chinese border patrols in western Tibet. With them comes the first glimpse of the cultural revolution in the most effectively sealed off area behind the bamboo curtain.

500 FIND SHELTER IN INDIAN CAMPS

From PETER HAZELHURST—Bijhar, Aug. 27

In Tibet the cultural revolution has been particularly directed against lamas, religion and old traditions which appear to be a symbolic substitute for revisionists, Liu Shao-chi and anti-Maoists in the struggle in China proper.

In the Indian Government refugee camps at Bijhar and Pilibhit are 500 Tibetans, who crossed the snowbound border passes after the thaw in June. They describe the Red Guard reign of terror, humiliation of lamas and a fanatical campaign to wipe out the last traces of religion in the country.

A strict ban has been placed on worship, any form of ownership, and contact with traditions.

The cultural revolution and Red Guards made themselves felt in western Tibet only in February this year. With the formation of Red Guards struggle meetings have been called in villages, monasteries razed to the ground and ancient Lamaist scriptures

burnt. The Red Guards, recruited from the poorest sections of the community by the Chinese and Tibetan officials, forced villagers to shave the traditionally long-plaited hair, wear Chinese clothes, and emulate chairman Mao.

But Peking appears to have underestimated the strong religious ties that still exist in Tibet after 14 years of Chinese rule. Under the forceful direction of Tibetan Red Guards—the *Genlog Rukach*—villagers submitted, destroyed their monasteries, accepted Mao's little red book, and then, overnight, slipped away under Peking's nose.

Waiting for the snows to thaw, they crossed into India in their hundreds bringing with them lamas, hidden scriptures, sacred objects, and cattle.

Relative peace

This largest exodus out of Tibet since 1962 indicates that the western borders are not well patrolled by the Chinese, contrary to what had been believed. The

spontaneous antagonism developed by the cultural revolution can be seen in the numbers attempting to cross the border, when it is realized that only 35 Tibetans had previously defected in this area since 1962.

Contrary to past reports, the western Tibetans say that until February this year they have been left in relative peace. One of the leaders of the mass exodus, Chhamba Dhawa, unaware that he had been experiencing the cultural revolution, said until February the Chinese had not interfered with worship or rites. "When they first came they said they were going to change the country into a place like Russia. We would be able to worship but there would be democratic changes.

"Nothing happened until February this year, when we saw the Chinese forming groups of people from the poorest sections of the community in all the villages. At the head of the group the Chinese placed Tibetan people who worked in their offices. They all wore red arm bands.

"At the end of the month they called all heads of families to the district headquarters and said that the old ways were not the thoughts of chairman Mao. We were told that the Dalai Lama was reactionary and that old things must be destroyed. Chinese officers were at these meetings but they did not take part. We were told that we had not understood the thoughts of chairman Mao and the only true followers were the poorer people who had formed the new group called *Genlog Rukach*.

"We were told things were now going to change. All worship must stop and monasteries and scriptures were to be burnt. Men were told to dress like Mao Tse-tung and shave their long hair.

"To be pure according to chairman Mao's thoughts, one should not possess anything and even those who owned two head of cattle were capitalists".

Harnessed to ploughs

After the meetings the Red Guards forced villagers to raze monasteries to the ground, burn scriptures and humiliate lamas. Lamas caught worshipping were paraded at humiliation meetings, harnessed to ploughs in place of oxen, and arrested.

"We had to do as they said. Every house put burnt ashes of scriptures outside for inspection by Red Guards but some managed to hide important scriptures under the ground", Chhamba Dhawa.

said.

The refugees also report they noticed a change in the Tibetan communist hierarchy. Officials were demoted and replaced by people of lower status.

A 70-year-old monk, Niyang Lama, tells a similar story: "Until April we had been allowed to worship and have our monasteries. Before this the only difference made was an order that lamas must also work in the fields if they wanted to pray.

"But in March at my village of Phe, the Chinese called a meeting

and said everything must stop. Old ideas and religion had to go and we should read a red book given to us by the *Genlog Rukach*. A little while after this the Red Guards came and destroyed my monastery and burnt the scriptures. They asked me what I was going to do now. I told them I would read chairman Mao's thoughts. They went away and that night I threw Mao's thoughts away and left the village with other people who brought me here,"

CEYLON DAILY NEWS
5 October 1967

A RUTHLESS RULE BY RED GUARDS IN RAVISHED TIBET

NEW YORK, Wednesday
DESPITE CHINESE TERROR AND OPPRESSION THE MORALE OF THE TIBETAN PEOPLE REMAINS HIGH AND THEY ARE DETERMINED TO DRIVE THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS OUT OF TIBET.

The brother of the Dalai Lama, Gyalo Thondup, made this assessment of his overrun country at a press conference here last week.

The Tibetans "continue to resist the colonialists and have firm faith that Tibet will one day regain the independence to which she is entitled," he told newsmen.

Mr. Thondup will be here for three weeks for the opening of the 20th United Nations General Assembly. He took the occasion to summarize current Chinese Communist activities in Tibet and to renew a plea for freedom for his country.

"Neutralization of Tibet and restoring its position as an independent buffer state between China and India is the only means by which lasting and meaningful peace can be established in that region," he said.

Prison

He called Tibet today "a vast prison for the Tibetan people who have been completely subjugated by the Chinese." He noted that hundreds of Tibetans still escape to India and Nepal every month.

Mr. Thondup hailed the three separate resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly to date (1959, 1961, 1965) calling for independence in Tibet. He regretted that "neither the call of the United Nations nor the tears of the Tibetan people could deter the Chinese from their aggressive and expansionist designs." He said that China's main interest in Tibet is its "militarily strategic location."

In his summary of current Communist Chinese actions in Tibet, Mr. Thondup noted that the Cultural Revolution has spread well into his country. He said that Red Guards, mostly teenagers, have fanned out across Tibet destroying religious works of art and objects and carrying on acts of vandalism in monasteries, homes and historic places.

Public trials

"The Red Guards have punished every Tibetan who showed the slightest indication of adhering to the Tibetan religion and customs," he said.

He said many Tibetans have been accused as class enemies and brought to public trials "and beaten severely for the crimes trumped up against them by the Red Guards."

He said that two Chinese Communist factions—the Cultural Revolutionary Rebels and the Great Alliance—one in support and one against the

doctrine of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung "have been making charges and counter-charges against one another. It is believed there was conflict among the rank and file of the military itself both in China and Tibet," he said.

By September 1967, Mr. Thondup maintained, "the situation in Tibet had deteriorated into continuous open violence consisting of bloody beatings and killings, between the two rival groups."

He also called attention to the deteriorating living and political conditions of the Tibetan people. "They cannot enjoy the fruits of their labour. Their daily consumption is strictly rationed." A major share of the food production within Tibet is shipped to China, he said.

Indoctrination

He also deplored the fact that Tibetan children are being educated under a Chinese Communist system and separated entirely from their parents. "The Chinese have also been sending Tibetan children to China for final indoctrination and to train them to become Communist cadres."

"The Red Chinese government," he said, has been following "the old imperialistic policy of divide and rule," in Tibet. "It has carved the country into numerous administrative districts in order to obliterate all sense of Tibetan national unity and to maintain rigid control over the population." The result has been a complete subjugation of Tibetans.

STRAITS ECHO AND TIMES OF MALAYA, Penang
October 23, 1967

Asian Reds' two-faced policy on Buddhists

(By A Special Correspondent)

HONG KONG: — As the Dalai Lama, one of the most revered of Buddhist leaders, visited Japan to consult with Japanese Buddhist priests, Asian Communist propaganda denounced the exiled Tibetan leader as a "traitorous reactionary" while at the same time it appealed to Buddhists in South Vietnam to take up arms against the anti-Communist government there.

Observers of the Asian scene of working both sides of the street, in a religious sense. They said Radio Peking and pro-Chinese Communists inside Japan led the drive to smear the Dalai Lama and the Buddhist religion. At the same time Peking Radio, in broadcasts beamed particularly to South Vietnam, encouraged "the Buddhist faithful" in the south to take up arms against the newly-elected government in Saigon. The Communist radio in Hanoi broadcast the same line, while ignoring Peking's attacks on the Dalai Lama. Hanoi asserted (Editors: Oct. 2) that the Thieu-Ky government in Saigon, in a conspiracy with Washington, was attempting to "sabotage Buddhism, annihilate Buddhist bonzes (holy men) and disintegrate the force of patriotic Buddhist faithful."

Amazingly — to those who are aware how Buddhism and all other religions have been tramped on by the atheist Ho Chi Minh regime in North Vietnam — Hanoi Radio urged Buddhists in the south to "fight for their rights" and oppose to the death "the ruthless schemes of the Americans and their lackeys in the south against religion in general and Buddhism in particular."

VISIT DENOUNCED

Meanwhile Peking Radio denounced the Dalai Lama's two-week visit to Japan in October as a "sinister" meeting of a "runaway Tibetan traitor" with

"Japanese reactionaries," meaning the Buddhist Missionary Society of Japan which was the Dalai Lama's host.

The Communist Chinese news agency distributed reports under a Lhasa dateline describing mass meetings in Tibet called to express the anger of the "revolutionary masses" against the Dalai Lama's visit to Japan. "Down with the reactionary Dalai Lama clique," the crowds shouted, according to Peking's report, as a spokesman for "the emancipated serfs" related how the people of Tibet had suffered in the past under Buddhist oppressions, before the Chinese Communist "freed" them by seizing power in 1959 and forcing the Dalai Lama to flee to India.

The Communist Chinese news agency account made clear that the people of Tibet rejoiced over this ouster of "reactionary" Buddhism and the replacement of the Dalai Lama's leadership by that of Mao Tse-tung. The agency's report from Lhasa said in this connection: "In speeches, the representatives (of the masses) said that the million emancipated serfs in Tibet, nurtured with Mao's thought and tempered in the great proletarian revolution, will always turn to Chairman Mao, the red sun in their heart."

PAINTINGS SMASHED

Mao supporters took direct action in Tokyo to show their displeasure. About a hundred of them burst into the Matsuzaka

kaya department store in the heart of Tokyo in an attempt, foiled by the quick arrival of police, to smash up an exhibition of ancient Tibetan paintings and other art. The exhibit had been opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama shortly after his arrival. The onslaught resembled Red Guard assaults against Chinese museums and art galleries on the mainland in a wholesale destruction of priceless mementos of China's past.

Reports reaching Hong Kong from Buddhist centres in Asia indicate that the new Communist attacks on the Dalai Lama

have further discredited Peking's position in Buddhist communities. Asian Buddhists know now that the mainland Communists have attempted systematically to destroy Buddhism inside China and to eliminate its followers in Tibet, since seizure of that once-independent nation. (The UN-affiliated International Association of Jurists has declared the Chinese Communists guilty of genocide in Tibet).

The Dalai Lama, himself, has made no reply to the new Communist campaign. He came to Japan with the promise to a concerned Japanese Government that he would not engage in political activities. He has confined himself to studying the state of Buddhism in Japan today and in joining Japanese Buddhist priests in meditation and religious discussions. His schedule called for visits to major Buddhist temples in the ancient capitals of Kyoto, Nara and Osaka as well as inspection trips through electronic and automobile factories in Tokyo.

—CONTINENTAL PRESS.

JAPAN TIMES

27 September 1967

Dalai Lama Comes to Japan

The Dalai Lama, the Tibetan leader since 1959 in exile in India, arrived in Tokyo on Monday night for a two-week visit to Japan.

Sometimes referred to as the "god-king," the Dalai Lama is regarded by most Tibetans as their lawful ruler; he is also the head of the Lamaist form of the Buddhist religion which is found mainly in Tibet. He was invited to Japan by the Buddhist Missionary Association in Tokyo, and the Japanese Government agreed to his visit here on condition that he did not engage in any political activities while in Japan.

The Dalai Lama has, of course, no religious jurisdiction over Japanese Buddhists, and the form of Buddhism he professes is considerably different from those forms current in Japan. Nevertheless, he is honored as a devout and courageous Buddhist and also as the representative of a country which has suffered a cruel fate at the hands of Chinese Communists.

So severe has been, and still is, this persecution that Red China has been freely accused in various quarters of the crime of genocide.

This visit to Japan is the Dalai Lama's first visit abroad since he fled from his homeland eight years ago, and he is expected on his return journey to India to stop for a few days in Bangkok, another Buddhist center—this time of the Hinayana faith. While his trip is not intended to have any political significance, as he was once endowed with sovereign powers and has suffered much anguish on behalf of his unfortunate country, his visit is bound to excite interest and sympathy.

The severity of the Peking Government's treatment of the Tibetan people appears to have been mainly promoted by the ordinary Communist zest for destruction, but the fact that their land was largely undeveloped, yet contained underground mineral wealth, was undoubtedly a factor. Recent reports indicate, too, that despite the harshness of the climate and the high elevation of much of the country, the Chinese Communists have been pouring in colonists of their own race to take the place of the native Tibetans. This process is said to have had a good deal of success although the Chinese do not take readily to the climatic

conditions of Tibet.

One political consequence of the flight of the Dalai Lama and the sinicization of Tibet has been increased friction between India and Red China.

Last March, the Foreign Ministry in Peking formally accused the Indian Government of permitting the Dalai Lama to set up a government-in-exile in India. The Peking note described the Tibetan leader as a "traitor." It declared that India had given shelter to "elements of the traitorous Dalai clique and a large number of traitor bandits, and openly helped them to establish in India a so-called government-in-exile and to publish a so-called Tibetan Constitution."

It even accused India of giving Tibetan refugees "military training" while referring to the "new Tibet" as becoming a "joyful land of socialism."

India, of course, has consistently pointed out that it does not permit Tibetans in India (including the Dalai Lama himself) to participate in anti-Chinese activities. The Indian motive obviously has been humanitarian in character. Tibetans, persecuted in their homeland by the Chinese Communists, and fortunate enough to get away, have perforce had to find new homes, and India, the nearest free country, could have hardly refused them a refuge. Some Tibetans have, of course, proved able to escape to Europe, and a number have found refuge in Switzerland in areas which are somewhat reminiscent of their own mountain land.

Not only have the Tibetan people received cruel treatment but it appears that many monasteries have been ruthlessly plundered and their cultural treasures dissipated.

The actual rulers in Tibet appear to be the Chinese military who take scant care respecting anybody's rights and act in an arbitrary fashion. Earlier this year, the Tibet Garrison of the "People's Liberation Army" issued a directive saying that anyone opposing the Army takeover would be regarded as a "counter-revolutionary and dealt with accordingly."

Red Chinese actions in Tibet reveal, if nothing else does, the true nature of a type of communism which will stop at nothing to gain its ignoble ends. Its pretence to be concerned with the welfare of the masses is only valid within its own narrow ideology, and even excites criticism from nations that have accepted the main principles of socialism.

The Hindustan Times Friday September 29 1967

'Liberated' Tibetan serfs denounce Dalai, India

From Rakshat Puri

Hindustan Times Correspondent

Hong Kong, Sept. 28 — The Chinese occupation authorities in Tibet have organized meetings of what they describe as "emancipated serfs" to denounce the Dalai Lama, who is now on a visit to Japan.

Radio Peking quoting New China News Agency said the "emancipated serfs" in Lhasa met on Sunday and Monday to shout slogans against not only the "Japanese and Indian reactionaries" but also the United States and the Soviet

Union.

Representatives of the "emancipated serfs" are also made out to have declared that India and Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States "mortally feared and hated China's great proletarian cultural revolution" and that India was carrying out provocations on the Tibet-Indian border "while following the U.S. imperialism" in enabling the Dalai Lama to visit Japan "to undertake traitorous activities."

The NCNA also made out the representatives of the "emancipa-

ted serfs" as protesting that they would always turn to Mao "the Red Sun in our hearts," and vowing that "they would settle the accounts with the Dalai Lama for all the debts he owed them."

It may be remarked that at similarly organized meetings reported by NCNA on Sept. 12 thousands of revolutionaries and Red Guards of all nationalities in Lhasa were made out to have condemned "Indian boundary intrusions" and shouted slogans against India, the Soviet Union and the U.S.

TIMES OF INDIA 8 OCT 1967

MAN IN THE NEWS Dalai Lama

It is now nearly nine years since the Dalai Lama, the venerable god-kind of the Tibetans, dramatically escaped from Lhasa across the Roof of the World to seek refuge and asylum in India.

The initial warmth and fervour with which he was received in this country has long since turned into a chilling neglect more cruel perhaps to the unfortunate, young exiles of Dharamsala than Chinese treachery or the world's indifference.

Forced into near obscurity by the ruthless realities of Indian politics and severely crippled by his consideration for the Indian government's exaggerated political sensibilities, the Dalai Lama watches helplessly as the Chinese systematically destroy the traditional way of life and culture of his people, to wipe out the separate Tibetan identity and sense of nationhood and attempt to annihilate the entire Tibetan race.

But at long last the Government of India has relented sufficiently to support the Tibetan cause at the United Nations and allow the Dalai Lama on his first trip out of the country.

Though his two-week visit to Japan is strictly a non-political, cultural and religious tour, it should help to arouse the conscience of the world and remind it once more of the existence of a devout and peace-loving people, who, despite ruthless exploitation and overwhelming odds, are still gallantly striving to keep alive the light against tyranny.

Despite his long years of exile the Dalai Lama continues to remain the supreme spiritual and temporal ruler of Tibet, the unquestioned leader and symbol of the Tibetan struggle for independence, the eloquent voice and conscience of his people.

By any standards he is a remarkable man. Though only 32 he radiates a spirit of agelessness, though wise and erudite in spiritual matters he is artless and ignorant of the ways of the modern world; intensely involved yet deeply detached, he is a high incarnate, a Living Buddha who considers himself a humble Buddhist Bhikkhu.

It is this young man, pitchforked suddenly from the pure, monastic peace in which he had been

brought up into the heat of 20th century politics, who bears on his their way of life in a strange country till the long, weary years of wandering are at last over.

And yet he displays a serenity and fortitude which can only come out of deep spiritual conviction. Despite his people's immense suffering at the hands of the Chinese he is able to say, "I have absolutely no hatred in my heart for the Chinese people. I believe it is one of the curses and dangers of the present age to blame nations for the crimes of individuals."

Even of those individuals who frail shoulders the heavy responsibility of leading his people back to freedom and preserving have tortured and killed his countrymen he can say that one should never reply to crimes with other crimes and that it is always one's duty to help all other beings in the universal quest for perfection.

In keeping with this liberal, almost saintly, spirit he has worked out a democratic constitution which he hopes one day to be able to offer to his country—a constitution of which he once said, "The main thing is that the people ought to be able to get rid of me if they ever want to."

To those sceptics who doubt whether the forces of Buddhism can resist the godless hordes of communism, he points out that Chinese communism has lasted 17 years while Buddhism has lasted 2,500, and that he for one has perfect faith in which will last the longer. It is the spirit of the Buddha who has said, "However strong the storm of evil or untruth may be, it cannot totally extinguish the lamp of truth," that sustains his 14th incarnation and his people in their passive struggle against tyranny and suppression.

But for the moment the night of terror and oppression still continues with not a ray of hope amid the darkness. Thousands of people are being massacred or dragged into slave-labour gangs, places of worship are destroyed or turned into arsenals. Famine and starvation stalk the land and Lhasa is now a dead city.

Unless Chinese communism changes fundamentally or the Chinese find it expedient to reverse their policy of destroying Buddhism in Tibet—both rather doubtful possibilities—it is difficult, at least for a non-believer to see how things can change.

—Z.M.

NEW YORK TIMES,
NOVEMBER 21, 1967

Exiled Dalai Lama Is Hopeful on Future of Tibet

Buddhist Leader Describes Himself as Optimist

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Nov. 19—The Dalai Lama is hopeful for Tibet despite his feeling that this past year, the eighth of his exile in India, has been the worst for the country since Chinese troops marched into Lhasa in 1951.

Caught in the undertow of the Cultural Revolution, the Tibetans have been forced by Chinese Red Guards and army factions to abandon all outward expressions of their attachment to Buddhism.

Buddhist practices, the Dalai Lama charged in an interview last night, have been almost completely wiped out. The closing of monasteries and the desecration of temples, he said, inevitably will mean that the loss is more than outward. As he put it, "Religion without learning isn't possible."

An Outgoing Young Man

And he then pronounced himself an optimist. On the surface it was the kind of thing an exile with a seemingly hopeless cause might be expected to say to gain attention or save himself from total despair.

But his hope seemed to be of a different kind for it was tinged not with desperation but with a brightness that could almost be called gaiety. At the age of 32, the 14th Dalai Lama remains an outgoing young man, full of curiosity and easily moved to laughter.

Wrapped in a maroon robe, he sat cross-legged on a small gilt armchair, his cheap rubber sandals on the carpet before him. Noticing that his visitor was jotting down notes while he was speaking in Tibetan, he was quick to guess that they concerned the way he was sitting. After a good laugh he explained that he found it more comfortable because he was trying not to scratch mosquito bites on his ankles.

His hope for his country's future was not that the cur-

rent instability in China would enable Tibet to shake loose from Peking's domination. Rather, he said, it was a long-range conviction that the next generation of Chinese leaders would be "more reasonable."

Buddhist View of Life

Then he proceeded to show just how long-range his judgments were. As a Buddhist, he said, he believes that present events are determined by intricate sets of causes stretching back into the previous lives of those who are affected by them.

Thus, he said, it was only an "outward appearance" that the Tibetans were suffering today because of the Chinese aggression. "The aggression must have come," he said, "because we did something bad." Similarly, he went on, it is only an "outward appearance" that Chinese rule in Tibet is now permanent. The chain of causes that will eventually undermine it, he said, must already be lengthening, even if it cannot be seen.

"Cause and effect, cause and effect, cause and effect," he said cheerfully in English, his fingers darting in the air to join the links on the imaginary chain. Then his hands dropped to his lap and he said, "There will certainly be change."

The Dalai Lama was stopping over for a day on his return from a one-week visit to Thailand to help inaugurate a world vegetarian conference here before returning to his headquarters at Dharamsala in the Himalayan foothills.

The trip to Thailand was his second journey out of India since his arrival here in 1959. The first was a two-week visit to Japan last month.

He explained that he was eager to visit more Buddhist countries before traveling outside Asia. He is hoping to go next to Burma and Ceylon.

"I go as a humble Buddhist monk," he said. "There is a lot of sympathy for us in these countries, but there are still many Buddhists who are not well informed about Tibet."

JAPAN TIMES

8 October 1967

The Problem of Tibet

The current visit to Japan of His Holiness the Dalai Lama has spotlighted one of the most vexing legal and moral problems in today's troubled world. Whether Communist China has the right to occupy Tibet and rule the three million Tibetans is one aspect of the problem. And whether it is right for the Chinese Communists to destroy Tibetan culture and erase the identity of the Tibetan people is another.

The Tibetans became identified as a nation in the seventh century when a number of ferocious Himalayan tribes united under the leadership of a strong chieftain. The united tribes defeated China and imposed humiliating terms, but in the process acquired Buddhism, which, while keeping the tribes united, pacified them.

Eventually, the Buddhism became Lamaism, and Tibet became a theocratic state. The Grand Lama—or Dalai Lama, as he finally was called—headed the nation and maintained a "spiritual-temporal" relation with China. After some centuries, the Chinese came to look upon Tibet as a vassal state which they had generously permitted self-government.

Early in this century, the British were the dominating influence in that part of the world. The Tibetans, exasperated at the Chinese attitude, had succeeded in ejecting even the pretence of any Chinese authority over their affairs.

In mid-1914, a meeting between Tibet, China and Britain was held in Simla, India, for the purpose of establishing Tibet's borders. The border between India and Tibet was easily agreed upon, but the Chinese would not accept the line that divided eastern and northern Tibet from China, and refused to sign the Convention.

Article II of the Convention described Tibet as being "under the suzerainty of China." This recognized a tradition rather than any legal or de facto relationship. Moreover, "suzerainty" was not to be confused with "sovereignty." It meant, in effect, that China was to remain Tibet's protector and as such was permitted a strong voice in Tibet's foreign relations. It did not mean that China had any voice whatever in Tibet's internal affairs.

In addition, the same Article II of the Convention specified that the Chinese were "not to convert Tibet into a

Chinese province."

Finally, the Tibetans declared that, if the Chinese did not ratify the Convention, Tibet's status reverted back to that of "an independent nation recognizing no allegiance to China."

In October 1950, in a sneak attack, 40,000 Chinese Communist troops crossed Tibet's eastern borders and engaged the tiny Tibetan army. The Tibetans fought bravely, but were overwhelmed.

The Chinese rationalized the aggression on the basis that, because the British had participated in the Simla Convention, it was automatically imperialistic and therefore to be rejected. Moreover, even the imperialistic British had recognized China's suzerainty over Tibet, and this was now conveniently interpreted as "sovereignty."

Since then, whenever the Tibetan issue has risen in world affairs, the Communists indulge in legalistic hair-splitting over "suzerainty" and "sovereignty," and they reinvoke the immorality of British imperialism until the issue is drowned in a verbal deluge.

Meanwhile, the best land of the three million Tibetans has been confiscated and given to Chinese settlers. Their religious practices are suppressed, and their religious establishments are being methodically destroyed. Their art, literature, folkways, traditions and even their language are being obliterated. Forced labor is the fate of tens of thousands of Tibetans. Public torture is a common method of enforcing Peking's authority.

Since 1959, more than 90,000 Tibetans have been killed in the Chinese attempts to put down Tibetan resistance and uprisings. Many more than this number have died of starvation. No matter how the word "genocide" is defined, the evidence is overwhelming that the Chinese Communists are guilty of it.

In early 1959, the present Dalai Lama escaped from Lhasa to India. He made the dangerous journey in order to tell the world what was happening in his country and to seek help for his people. Several thousands of his subjects have managed to evade Chinese patrols and joined him. These refugees and their religious leader constitute an unrecognized government-in-exile. Unquestionably, it is the only group that can claim the right to speak for the Tibetan people.

Tibet of India, New Delhi

Pakistan.—UNI.

Peking Radio assails Dalai Lama

NEW DELHI, October 13: The Dalai Lama was today again the target of the fury of Peking Radio which reported his departure for India on Tuesday after a two-week visit to Japan.

The Tibetan spiritual head was called by the radio the "Tibetan bandit leader" who took part in "treacherous activities" in Japan in collusion with the "reactionary Sato Government."

The radio said: "The reactionary Sato Government's action to allow

the Dalai Lama to indulge in anti-Chinese activities in Japan is another serious provocation against the Chinese people following Sato's visit to Taiwan."

It took objection to the publication of a pamphlet by "Yomiuri Shimbun" carrying a letter from the Dalai Lama to organisers of the Tibetan exhibition there naming Tibet "at par with India and Japan as three countries."

The radio commented that the publication of this statement by the Dalai Lama is "obviously a heinous crime of the Sato Government which follows U.S. imperialism."—PTI.

**PEKING REVIEW #43, Peking
October 20, 1967**

"Yomiuri Shimbun" Correspondent in Peking Disqualified

The representative of the Liao Cheng-chih Office of China called in the representative of the Tatsunosuke Takasaki Office of Japan in Peking on October 12. He severely denounced the responsible members of the Japanese newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* for following the orders of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries in the anti-China campaign and making arrangements, together with the Japanese Association for Preaching Buddhism, for China's arch Tibetan traitor Dalai to travel from India to Japan on September 25 to carry out criminal anti-China activities. He informed the Japanese representative that he was authorized to announce the cancellation of the right of *Yomiuri Shimbun*, as of that day, to accredit a correspondent to Peking.

The Chinese representative pointed out that on September 26 Dalai presided over the opening ceremony of a so-called "Tibetan Treasures Exhibition" in Tokyo sponsored by *Yomiuri Shimbun*. On the map hung in the exhibition hall and in the pamphlets sold there, Tibet was delineated as a separate "country," and "Tibetan masses" and the nationals of Japan and India were lumped together as "civilians of the three countries." This was a vain and crude attempt at interfering in China's internal affairs and splitting China's sacred territory, as well as an open political provocation against China. Besides Matsutaro Shoriki, director of *Yomiuri Shimbun*, officials of the U.S. Embassy in Japan and the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Indian Charge d'Affaires in Japan also took part in this sinister activity.

It is reported that after his stay in Tokyo Dalai also went to Kyoto and other places for sinister activities.

The Chinese representative pointed out that it was an undeniable fact that the responsible members of *Yomiuri Shimbun* had arranged Dalai's trip to Japan for anti-China activities. It was new evidence that the reactionary Japanese Government was following U.S. imperialism and collaborating with the Indian reactionaries in pressing ahead with its anti-China policy. It was also a big exposure of the ugly features of the responsible members of *Yomiuri Shimbun* as pawns of the reactionary Sato government in opposing China.

The representative pointed out that the vicious political aim of these manoeuvres was particularly evident since they occurred at a time when Sato had just concluded his "visit" to Taiwan and was on his anti-China mission to some Southeast Asian countries and regions, and when the General Assembly of the United Nations, a tool of the United States, was in session. The Chinese people would never tolerate this.

Patriot, New Delhi 6 Oct. 1967

CHINESE ATROCITIES

TIBETAN ART EXHIBITION SMASHED

PATRIOT
6 Oct. 1967

TOKYO, Oct. 5 (PTI).
ONE hundred Chinese today broke into an exhibition of Tibetan art treasures here smashing the gallery and toppling the exhibits before police intervened to clear them out. One Chinese was taken into custody.

Shouting "stop the exhibition", the Chinese intruders forced them-

selves into the gallery and pulled down exhibits as frightened spectators looked on. One glass case containing a Tibetan painting was smashed.

After the incident a spokesman for the Japanese Socialist Party's Friendship for Communist China Association said, "Tibet belonged to China and exhibits were stolen by the Dalai Lama, a traitor."

The spokesman, however, denied that the Chinese were organized to raid the exhibition by his party.

"We know nothing of it," he said. China accused Burma yesterday of having "completely torn up" an economic and technical cooperation agreement between the two countries.

It also charged that the Burmese Government wants to expel Chinese experts working to complete projects under the agreement. Peking's official New China News Agency said the Chinese Foreign Ministry made the accusations in a note delivered to the Burmese embassy in Peking, yesterday.

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Dienstag, 24. Oktober 1967

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TAGES

Der Schachspieler war Sowjetagent

Hintergründe des Falles Anasov — Diplomat fand sein Opfer im Kaffeehaus

Eigenbericht der „Presse“

WIEN (r). Der Fall des in Wien akkreditierten sowjetischen Attachés M. A. S. Anasov hat in der österreichischen Öffentlichkeit Aufsehen erregt. Der Diplomat, Angehöriger des sowjetischen Zivilnachrichtendienstes, hatte, wie berichtet, den Versuch unternommen, einen Wiener Magistratsbeamten zu bestechen, und war dabei auf frischer Tat ertappt worden. Wie Anasov vorging, um sein Ziel zu erreichen, wurde jetzt im Detail bekannt.

Der Attaché hatte sich an den Magistratsangestellten in einem Schachklub, der seinen Sitz in einem Kaffeehaus im 7. Bezirk hat und dessen Mitglied der Gemeindebeamte ist, herangemacht. Die beiden saßen einander öfters am Schachbrett gegenüber — ein „Zufall“, den der Diplomat geschickt gelenkt hatte. Um sich das Wohlwollen des Beamten zu sichern, überraschte er ihn zunächst durch kleine Präsente, und zwar in der Form, daß er manchmal Theaterkarten, ein anderes Mal wieder Bücher schenkte. Das war im vergangenen Jahr. Im Frühjahr 1967 ließ Anasov zum erstenmal seine wahren Absichten durchblicken. Er fragte den Beamten, der in der

für Staatsbürgerschaftsangelegenheiten zuständigen Magistratsabteilung 61 arbeitet, zunächst vorsichtig über die Art seiner Tätigkeit aus, und eines Tages erklärte er offen, was er eigentlich wolle.

Darüber gibt es jedoch zwei Versionen: Während man im Wiener Rathaus mutmaßt, der Sowjetdiplomats habe sich Kenntnisse über den Inhalt bestimmter Staatsbürgerschaftsakten verschaffen wollen, glaubt man an anderer Stelle, daß er die Absicht hatte, sein Opfer dazu zu veranlassen, falsche Karteikarten anzulegen und in die Registratur einzuschmuggeln. Dies hätte es dem sowjetischen Geheimdienst ermöglicht, einen Agenten mit österreichischen Papieren auszustatten. Der Betreffende hätte nichts anderes tun müssen, als um einen Staatsbürgerschaftsnachweis anzusuchen, der ihm an Hand des eingeschleusten falschen Materials höchstwahrscheinlich ausgestellt worden wäre.

Auch darüber, was nach dem Angebot Anasovs an den Magistratsbeamten geschah, gibt es zwei Lesarten. Während man im Magistrat erklärt, der Beamte sei stutzig geworden, weil ihm sein Schachkollege

über die bisherige Aufmerksamkeit hinaus plötzlich Geld aufzudrängen versuchte, und habe dies daher sofort seiner vorgesetzten Dienststelle gemeldet, hört man abermals an anderer Stelle, der Beamte habe das Geld genommen. Insgesamt soll es sich um 4000 Schilling gehandelt haben. Im letzten Moment habe es der Beamte jedoch mit der Angst zu tun bekommen und habe die Sache gemeldet. Er informierte den Magistrat, der die Staatspolizei verständigte.

DIE PRESSE, Vienna
24 October 1967

The Chess Player Was A Soviet Agent

Background of the Anasov Case -- Diplomat found his victim in a Coffee House.

Vienna. The case of the accredited Soviet Attache in Vienna, M.A.S. Anasov, has created a sensation with the Austrian public. As reported, the diplomat, a member of the Soviet civilian intelligence service, attempted to bribe a Vienna municipal official and was caught in the act. How Anasov proceeded to reach his objective has now become known in detail.

The attache approached the municipal official at a chess club, located in a coffee house in the Seventh District. The municipal official is a member of this chess board -- a coincidence which the diplomat had cleverly controlled. In order to secure the good will of the official, he [the diplomat] surprised him first with small gifts; sometimes the gifts were theater tickets and at other times books. That was last year. In the spring of 1967, Anasov let his real intentions show through for the first time. He first carefully questioned the official, who worked in Municipal Department 61 for Citizenship Matters, about his type of work and one day he openly stated what he wanted.

There are two versions about this: Vienna City Hall officials surmise that the content of specific citizenship records: other sources believe that he intended to get his victim to make false file cards and to smuggle them into the records. This would have made it possible for the Soviet Intelligence Service to supply an agent with Austrian documents. The agent would not have to had to do anything but apply for a proof of citizenship record, which would have most probably been issued to him on the basis of the false material inserted in the files.

There are also two interpretations about what happened after Anasov made his proposal to the municipal official. While it is explained in the City Council that the official became suspicious when this chess partner suddenly went beyond his customary attentiveness and attempted to press money on him -- a fact the official immediately reported to his superiors -- other sources claim the official took the money. A total of about 4,000 shillings was reportedly involved. The official is said to have lost his nerve at the last moment and reported the matter. He informed the City Council, which reported the matter to the state police.

18 October 1967

Home Ministry

Sits On Its

Biggest Story

Its Investigation Revealed That Soviet KGB Supported 129 Candidates In The Last General Elections

By D. F. KARAKA

IN JUNE this year a comparatively unknown paper, "YOUNG INDIA", based in title on the great newspaper of MAHATMA GANDHI, put out a remarkable story in answer to the question: "What has been the extent of K.G.B. involvement in India's Fourth General Election?"

"YOUNG INDIA" said: "The Home Ministry is sitting on the biggest story of the decade. Through painstaking sleuthing by its much-maligned security men, Home Minister MR. Y. B. CHAVAN is in possession of facts which, if made public, would blow 'Friendly Indo-Soviet Relations' sky high."

It then went on to tell this story. It referred to the hue and cry raised in the country, chiefly by Communists, that there should be a thorough investigation of the activities of the American CIA in India. Large sections of the Indian Press and a great many Indian public men, accustomed to having their voices heard loudly in the country, joined in the chorus. It was stated that India's sovereignty was at stake and that our moral fibre was being undermined by the American dollar.

Home Minister Chavan, not usually mindful of Communist suggestions, was urged to issue directives to all responsible officers of his Ministry, asking them to trace the CIA men alleged to be operating in our country, their agents and their venue of operation, so that such American activity in this country, which would amount to involvement in our General Elections and in our democracy, could be exposed.

The search, in its original form, was directed to locating CIA "spies" by investigating unusual expenditures made by some candidates during the election campaign.

YOUNG INDIA says: "The main charge against American intelligence was that through the notorious triple-pass, various American research organisations and 'charitable funds' were pouring CIA money into the pockets of Right Wing politicians."

As was to be expected, BLITZ, which claimed to have

sources well placed in the Home Ministry, named several American parties who were "happy to avail themselves of CIA money so as to subvert the Indian voter."

Here are some headlines from BLITZ at the time of the hue and cry:

"Rupees 15 lakhs had gone to a Right-wing Congress boss in C.P.S."

"Rs. 97.5 lakhs were used to finance a rabidly pro-American secular party."

"A pro-American Hindu Communal party had benefited by an undisclosed amount."

"A Congress leader in West Bengal got 8.5 lakhs."

According to YOUNG INDIA, BLITZ was even able to identify the U.S. "private" organisation which provided \$18,000 in crisp American greenbacks to a Jan Sangh leader whom BLITZ claimed to identify.

YOUNG INDIA then proceeds to outline the nature of the enquiry instituted at Mr. Chavan's instance and how the sleuths of the Home Ministry went about conducting this investigation.

YOUNG INDIA says: "And so the security boys fanned out into election districts, questioning party officials and local administrators."

"How many automobiles and jeeps did Mr. So-and-So have at his disposal? How many advertisements were placed in local newspapers on behalf of Mr. So-and-So's campaign, and by what firms?"

"Did any foreigners appear in the area during the pre-election

period? Did they demonstrate particular interest in the prospects of the campaign? Was there evidence, such as increased purchases at local shops, that large amounts of money were in circulation on election eve? Were there reports of bribery of local election officials?"

YOUNG INDIA continued: "Talking to men-on-the-scene, local politicians, petty officials, security lads minced no words. They were after big game: CIA money. They were investigating without hesitation expenditure of candidates of a rabidly pro-American secular party and a pro-American Hindu communal party. Let the chips fall where they may! Let Washington shudder! Let PL 430 wheat go down the drain!"

The Home Ministry security boys DID appear to come to the conclusion that in some cases too much money appeared to have been spent, which could not possibly have come from the candidate himself or his political party.

But what their investigations also unearthed was that the money alleged to have been given to our Indian candidates did not originate from the United States; it was traceable to Soviet origin and there appeared to be evidence of it having been siphoned out through the Soviet Embassy in Delhi and the Soviet consulates in other cities of India!

YOUNG INDIA: "Home Minister Chavan, with scrupulous neutrality, ordered his men to pursue to the bitter end every shred of evidence of political funny business, irrespective of whether it led them to the Right or to the Left."

Chavan shocked

"Anxiously, he awaited the results of their probings. Nervously, he watched over the shoulders of the experts at security headquarters, watched the reports mount higher and higher on their desks."

"Incredulous, he stared as the experts matched the jagged bits of raw evidence together, forming a mosaic picture staggering

in its size, its complexity, and its implications for the future of India's relations with her giant neighbour across the Himalayas."

"Astonished, he sat down with the experts themselves, personally added up the figures they had arrived at, figures that represented an awesome sum total of political chicanery, manipulation and bribery, not by the Americans but by the Soviet KGB!"

Surprise packet

Discarding marginal-type reports, which could be dismissed as rumours not corroborated by actual evidence, the Home Minister is said to have compiled a list of "firm cases" which revealed that the total candidates backed by the KGB was 129, of which 42 were Lok Sabha candidates and 87 were candidates for the State Vidhan Sabhas.

Of the benefits received by these candidates, 18 were traceable to the Right CPI, 19, "including one well-known Independent", belonged to the Leftists in the CONGRESS Party, 2 were said to be from the DMK, and 3 even from the Jan Sangh. The Home Office investigations breakdown of the M.L.A. candidates was: Right CPI 57, Left CPI 9, and DMK 21.

To what extent did the Soviet KGB financially assist these 129 candidates?

According to the Home Office's information, this is said to have totalled the staggering figure of Rs. 1,60,61,000.

YOUNG INDIA: "Security drew some fascinating conclusions from these statistics, it will be noted that, all told, a total of 129 candidates received financial support totalling Rs. 1,60,61,000 or approximately Rs. 1 and 1 lakh per candidate. Yet 19 Left Congress candidates (including one well known Independent) received Rs. 62,17,000 or an average of 3 and 1 lakhs each, better than 21 times national average!"

According to a report in this paper, the Security Department of the Home Office commented

that these figures reflected the importance which the KGB attached to certain constituencies where prominent mouthpieces of the Soviet viewpoint were running their candidates.

"Our security sources note that the Soviets suffer from few inhibitions in supporting CPI members and known Soviet sympathisers. The KGB assumes that most Indians know they are doing this anyway."

Referring to the attitude of the KGB in Kerala, the Home Office appears to have come to the conclusion that at election time the KGB had to show their goodwill by supporting some of the Left Congress candidates who were described in this confidential report as "EMS's favourites".

YOUNG INDIA comments that "most curious is the KGB's help to a tiny handful of Jan Sangh candidates." How Soviet Intelligence felt it advantageous to assist so communalist a party as the Jan Sangh is a matter of great interest, but it would indicate that the KGB's operations in this country are fairly extensive and it would like to keep in its orbit of interest all manner of Indians—Right, Left or Centre—who are likely to come to the top.

"With the DMK it was much the same story," **YOUNG INDIA** says. "The KGB assumed that the DMK would send a good number of MPs to New Delhi in 1967... It was vital then for the KGB to secure agents in the DMK who would parrot a Leftist line subtly tailored to suit conditions within the Party."

YOUNG INDIA adds: "Since the DMK put a higher premium on winning Madras State than on the Lok Sabha, it was necessary for the KGB to support a good number of MLA candidates (from the DMK) as well."

A political scandal

YOUNG INDIA: "Security was not a little intrigued that the KGB provided no aid without strings to the CPI in this election. In 1967, contrary to past practices, the CPI was told in no uncertain terms on which candidates it could spend KGB money, and how much."

Commenting on the "subtle tactics" adopted by the KGB and uncharted by the Home Ministry investigators, **YOUNG INDIA** says: "KGB techniques for supporting non-Leftist candidates by necessity were more subtle. In such cases, the role of Soviet espionage must be concealed."

"A lapse would provoke a political scandal of vast dimensions."

Basic need is to avoid the direct involvement of a Soviet agent. One of the many, insidiously clever methods by which the KGB solves this problem is to utilise friendly import-export firms as a 'cover' for passing money."

A "friendly hint" from KGB representatives in the cities of India is apparently all that is needed for some of our traders to swing into action to support the candidate of the KGB's choice.

YOUNG INDIA then alleges: "These are the facts which security has placed before the Home Ministry."

Fashionable

Contact Girl

To this we would add another piece of information which may be of special interest to Mr. Y. B. Chavan. It is the use made by the KGB of a swarthy young woman, somewhat shapely in form, gentle, extremely well-spoken, and seemingly harmless, whom the KGB has been employing as a sort of "freelance" contact girl.

This youngish lady appears to have much personal charm, which, it is believed, is found attractive not only to the recognised Leftists, but even by some on the extreme Right. It is said that she nearly landed a Public Relations job in the headquarters of an avowedly anti-Communist opposition party!

This girl, said to be of Goan origin, is rufianated to a large extent by the Soviet KGB men in India. They seem to be aware of her powers of attracting a fairly wide circle of Indians in politics and in newspaper business. Seen at the Taj, Ritz, Juhu... she is said to be seen at fashionable haunts.

In one of the important pre-emptive fights in Maharashtra, a first instalment of Rs. 26,000 is alleged to have been paid to a KGB-favoured "socialist" candidate by an Indian connected remotely with the newspaper world, but obviously of the Leftist variety.

Additional funds, which seemed to be required by the same candidate, were siphoned to him through a close relative of a right-wing opposition party candidate, who appears to be a businessman with some property of his own but who seems to be getting a rake-off from the Soviets for the stooging he does on their behalf.

All these men and women, who believe they are extremely

clever in their operations, are now on the list of KGB stooges who assisted the KGB in reaching the Indian candidates of their choice.

The storm over the CIA's alleged involvement in India's Fourth General Elections has blown over. The enquiries apparently revealed to the satisfaction of the Home Minister that America did not meddle in our internal domestic affairs.

But the Soviets did. Home Minister Chavan has now got before him in black and white that the KGB very blatantly interfered in our elections.

Even Blitz's columnist "Chander" says in his "NEWS BEHIND NEWS" column (September 30, 1967): "The claim of the Intelligence Bureau is that it is keeping a close watch on the financial assistance rendered also by the Communist countries to individuals and political parties in India."

Affects our sovereignty

So that even Blitz is aware that the Intelligence Bureau (of the Home Ministry) claims to be aware of "the financial assistance rendered also by the Communist countries."

What more could the Home Minister want than that sources so close to the Communist countries should know what the Intelligence Bureau of his Ministry thinks and feels?

The question that should be asked of the Home Minister is: Why is he now sitting on the report which his very able men have presented to him?

Is this part of India's foreign policy that we should stomach Soviet interference in our affairs to the extent which it has reached in the last General Elections, according to facts presented by the Home Ministry's Intelligence Department to the Home Minister himself?

The fact that these allegations were made as far back as in June of this year and Mr. Chavan has remained publicly silent, substantiates the belief that the Government of India wishes to stifle over this vital Home Ministry report.

It is doubtful, however, in view of our having resurrected **YOUNG INDIA**'s report in our paper, that this hush-hush will be allowed to continue.

Parliament meets next month, when some pertinent questions should be addressed to Home Minister Chavan on this vital issue, which affects the sovereignty of our country and the very foundations of our democracy.

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Ceylon Daily News

April 22, 1967

NAME DIVULGED BY FEB. PLOT SUSPECTS

WANTED MAN HAS C.P. LINKS

THE ANTECEDENTS OF SUNIL HEWAGE

(By a "Daily News" reporter)

Sunil Hewage, one of the three 'wanted men' in the February Plot investigation, has deep and devious connections with the Communist Party (Moscow), the 'Daily News' reliably understands.

Mr. Hewage is said to have been mentioned by suspects who are now under detention in the February Plot investigation.

Among the allegations made against him, reliable sources said, is that he had been responsible for preparing identity discs to be worn by the conspirators on their operational day, and provided the conspirators with foreign know-how. He has not yet been traced by the police however.

In February 1962, Mr. Hewage was elected Vice-President of the All-Ceylon Federation of Communist Progressive Youth Leagues, a Communist Party (Moscow) front organisation.

In the same year, he helped to found the Committee for Solidarity with Cuba, and is said to have been associated with the publication of pamphlets by this Committee.

Later in 1962, around October — December — Mr. Hewage is reported to have functioned as Political Instructor to Agitprop Cadres at underground indoctrination classes held by the Kurunegala Local of the Communist Party (Moscow).

Embassy employee

Early in 1963, the 'Daily News' understands, he worked in a journalistic capacity for the Information Department of the USSR Embassy. He is believed to have edited the Sinhala publication of "Soviet Land" throughout that year.

In December 1964, Mr. Hewage was elected Deputy Secretary of the Executive Committee, Ceylon National Federation of Communist and Progressive Youth Leagues.

Last year, reliable political source, told the 'Daily News' yesterday, he served as Editor of "Soviet News" a TASS publication, and also wrote for Aththa, a daily associated with the Communist Party (Moscow).

Tass, the official news agency of the Soviet Union, is under the control of the USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. A. A. Gromyko.

Persona non grata

The records show that during the past twelve years, almost the same number of Tass newsmen have been declared persona non grata or otherwise mentioned in connection with espionage and subversive activities. Among them:

* Yegor S. Yegorov expelled by the Japanese Government in November 1957 on the ground that he was "not a bona fide journalist".

* Yuri F. Trushkin, declared persona non grata and expelled from Thailand in October 1958. Mr. Trushkin's alleged collaborator, Khairoulla M. Shalkarov served in Ceylon from where he was expelled last year.

* Mikhail V. Metkin, declared persona non grata and expelled from Pakistan in October 1961, for "unauthorised photography."

* Valeri M. Vavilov, expelled from Norway in February 1963 for attempting to procure confidential information from employees of the Norwegian Storting (Parliament).

* Anatoli N. Matyushin and Vladimir E. Ovechkin, declared persona non grata and expelled from Ghana in March 1966. Mr. Matyushin, Tass correspondent, and Mr. Ovechkin, a Tass engineer, were both accused of being "intelligence officers engaged in espionage."

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE
29 June 1967

Depuis le début de l'année

Un coup sérieux a été porté à l'espionnage soviétique en Europe occidentale

D'où, sans doute, le remplacement à Moscou,
du chef des services secrets

Depuis le début de l'année 1967, un certain nombre d'affaires révélées au grand jour ont donné un coup sérieux à l'espionnage et à la subversion soviétique en Europe.

En janvier, un officier des services de renseignements soviétiques, Vladimir Cheretoune, qui opérait à Bruxelles sous la couverture de « représentant de la compagnie « Aéroflot » fut forcé de quitter la Belgique à la suite de ses tentatives d'obtenir des renseignements dans le domaine de l'aviation militaire.

Peu après cette expulsion, les Hollandais mirent la main sur un autre « représentant » de l'« Aéroflot », V. Gloukhov, qui, faisant fi des traditions de calme et de sang-froid attribuées par la légende aux espions et illustrées par des hommes tels que Sorge ou Abel, se mit à brailler et à amener la population lors de son arrestation. Il n'en fut pas moins expulsé.

En mars dernier, la capture en Italie de l'espion soviétique Rinaldi et de plusieurs de ses agents, révéla la personnalité d'un certain nombre d'officiers de renseignements soviétiques qui furent obligés de quitter les pays où ils opéraient, tels les diplomates Y. Pavlenko (Italie), I. Otchourkov et B. Petrine (Grèce), A. Zaklarov (Chypre) et N. Ranov (« Aéroflot » à Chypre).

En avril, la Belgique était à nouveau le théâtre de l'arrestation et de l'expulsion pour espionnage du correspondant de l'agence Tass, Anatoli Ogorodnikov.

Enfin, le troisième secrétaire d'ambassade Vitali Balachov et le représentant d'une entreprise de films, Oleg Semikov, furent également invités à quitter la Belgique, en raison de leurs activités subversives.

Un agent a parlé...

Un des agents au service du trio Ogorodnikov - Balachov - Semikov fournit également l'identité de ses anciens maîtres du K. G. B., à Tunis : A. Zelenine et Y. Muratov. Dans un autre pays d'Afrique du Nord, cette fois le Maroc, le représentant de l'« Aéroflot », K. Aksenov, fut également démasqué comme officier de renseignement soviétique.

Les Suisses, si hospitaliers, furent finalement à leur tour irrités par l'agressivité de la subversion soviétique, ce qui les amena à

expulser I. Petrov — un délégué officiel auprès de l'Union internationale des Télécommunications. Celui-ci avait essayé de recruter un citoyen suisse en vue d'obtenir des informations d'ordre politique.

Plusieurs autres officiers de renseignements soviétiques ont été démasqués en 1967 : K. Lemzenko, de l'Organisation commerciale « Sovfrakht » en Italie; le « professeur » S. Tchoumovsky, qui se trouvait aux Pays-Bas au début de cette année; G. Balan et A. Solovov, ayant tous deux résidé en Italie; P. Lomakine, attaché militaire à Chypre; M. Kleimenov, attaché à un département de l'O. N. U. à Genève; Victor Petrouchkine et Nikolai Machkovtsev, ayant résidé tous deux à Chypre. D'autres Soviétiques verront sans aucun doute leurs activités mises à jour à la suite de la découverte récente d'un réseau d'espionnage de l'U.R.S.S. en Norvège.

Chez les émigrés

La publicité donnée à cette découverte de nombreux officiers appartenant à l'espionnage soviétique a peut-être masqué aux yeux du grand public cette autre activité que l'U.R.S.S. poursuit avec ténacité : la persécution dans leurs pays d'accueil des associations d'émigrés russes anti-soviétiques.

Depuis la création de la « Tcheka » (premier nom donné à l'organisation d'espionnage et de subversion du Kremlin), connue aujourd'hui sous l'appellation K.G.B. un très gros effort a été fourni à cette fin. Les nationalistes ukrainiens sont plus particulièrement visés, car ils restent viscéralement fidèles à leur propre culture, refusant obstinément d'être « soviétisés ».

Il faut savoir qu'une section spéciale fut créée au sein de la « Tcheka » (K.G.B.) pour s'occuper uniquement des émigrés. C'est ce département qui organisa les plans de l'assassinat des leaders ukrainiens les plus connus de l'émigration, Stepan Bandera et Lev Rebet, « éliminés physiquement » en Allemagne en 1957 et 1959 respectivement.

Un épisode de la guerre à outrance menée contre les émigrés ukrainiens s'est récemment déroulé en France. Il eût fait grand bruit si l'attention de l'opinion publique n'avait pas été dirigée, au moment même, sur d'autres arrestations de sujets soviétiques et de

leurs agents dans toute l'Europe occidentale.

En février dernier, s'approchant discrètement d'un banc situé près de la place des Ternes à Paris, la police arrêta un nommé T. Bidnyk, émigré ukrainien de 57 ans, qui avait travaillé en Europe contre les Ukrainiens et pour le compte du K. G. B. pendant près de dix ans. Sa mission, pour les Soviétiques, consistait à s'infiltrer dans le groupement ukrainien émigré appelé O.U.R.F. (Organisation de travailleurs ukrainiens en France) et à les trahir.

Qu'est-il devenu ?

Il mena sa tâche avec succès en se rendant très utile aux dirigeants et aux membres de l'O.U. R.F., à Paris, Munich et d'autres villes. Toujours efficace, toujours avenant, Bidnyk était l'homme à tout faire exemplaire de l'O.U. R.F. : il visitait les camps de jeunesse, il pilotait les personnalités, il accueillait les visiteurs. Le prix de sa trahison lui rapportait 6.500 FB par mois, somme qui lui était régulièrement versée par ses maîtres du Kremlin.

L'arrestation de Bidnyk par les autorités françaises aura-t-elle des suites judiciaires ? Ou bien l'intéressé fera-t-il seulement l'objet d'une mesure d'expulsion ? Les employeurs soviétiques de Bidnyk résidant en France, doivent se poser anxieusement la question. Est-ce coïncidence, les nationalistes ukrainiens en France ont remarqué que, depuis l'arrestation de Bidnyk, on ne voyait plus Alexandre Davidov, second secrétaire de la délégation russe auprès de l'Unesco à Paris ! Davidov était bien connu des émigrés de Paris, et son absence les incite à conclure qu'il est mêlé à l'affaire Bidnyk.

L'installation du Shape, à Casteau

En plus de leurs efforts de pénétration dans les organisations d'émigrés antisoviétiques, les services secrets de l'U.R.S.S. organisent et contrôlent des groupes d'émigrés pro-soviétiques. Plusieurs émigrés d'origine russe ont obtenu la nationalité du pays dans lequel ils vivent actuellement, mais, aux yeux des Soviétiques, ils sont toujours citoyens de l'U.R.S.S.

Une forte pression est exercée sur eux afin qu'ils s'inscrivent au consulat soviétique pour obtenir un passeport national de réfugiés vivant à l'étranger et qu'ils rendent certains services, parmi lesquels il faut inclure l'espionnage.

En Belgique, l'Union des citoyens soviétiques a des sections dans les principales villes du pays. Récemment et après s'être vu reprocher leur incapacité à s'infiltrer dans les milieux boîtes influents, des dirigeants de l'Union des citoyens soviétiques ont reçu un appel pressant et solennel à leur patriotisme, appel qui a été motivé par l'implantation du Shape à Casteau où « l'on prépare les plans de l'agression contre l'U.R.S.S. », leur a-t-on affirmé.

Le remplacement à la K.G.B.

En plus de ses activités d'espionnage menées sur le plan mondial, le K.G.B. est également responsable de la protection de ses agents et de ceux du G. R. U. (espionnage militaire) contre les services du contre-espionnage adverse, c'est-à-dire celui des pays du monde libre.

Les récents échecs subis tant par le G.R.U. que par le K.G.B., sans toutefois avoir annihilé l'effort colossal mené par les Soviétiques dans ce domaine, montrent que cette dernière organisation a sous-estimé les services de sécurité européens et n'a pu faire face, avec efficacité, à ses responsabilités.

Selon un communiqué de l'Agence Tass, du 19 mai, Vladimir Semitchastni a été récemment remplacé à la tête du K.G.B. (présidence du comité de la sécurité de l'Etat) par Yuri Andropov.

Parmi les qualifications personnelles qui ont fait d'Andropov le nouveau chef du K.G.B., on doit noter qu'il était ambassadeur, en Hongrie, de 1954 à 1957, et qu'il y a pris part à la répression de la révolte hongroise.

Andropov ne ménagera certainement pas ses efforts pour éviter les erreurs commises par son prédécesseur et prouver l'efficacité de l'espionnage soviétique et sans doute s'efforcera-t-il de perfectionner son dispositif offensif et de parfaire ses méthodes défensives notamment dans notre pays, que sa situation au cœur de l'Europe et sa qualité de siège de l'O.T.A.N., placeront en bon ordre sur la liste de ses objectifs.

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December 1967

Che Guevara Proves Latin America Rejects CastroismGuerrillas in Bolivia

On 9 October 1967 Ernesto Che Guevara, guerrilla leader and chief proponent of Fidel Castro's doctrine of armed revolution, was ignominiously shot to death by Bolivian army forces in the mountainous area of southeastern Bolivia. His death may mark a turning point in the tide of Castro's insurgency program in Latin America, for it seems to demonstrate that imported revolution in Latin America lacks essential popular support. Guevara's lack of local support in Bolivia contrasts sharply with Castro's situation in Cuba during his Sierra Maestra campaign, when he received help from both the middle class and the wealthy landowners -- in the form of arms, food, transportation, safehavens, and, above all, vital intelligence on the movements and condition of Batista's army. Guevara had none of this kind of assistance -- the upper classes wanted no part of him and the peasants were at best apathetic and, in many cases, reported his movements to the army. In fact, Guevara and his band existed in almost total isolation from the few scattered peasants who were his neighbors in the rugged, mountainous terrain he chose as his base of operations. These illiterate rural people had little in common -- either intellectually or emotionally -- with the band of adventurers from the outside, and little feeling for the cause they represented. They were, as Guevara stated in his diary, "as impenetrable as stone." Other significant factors contributing to Guevara's downfall were the swift improvement of the Bolivian counter-guerrilla forces and the guerrilla band's remote location from their Cuban base of supplies. After Guevara's death, Government units soon mopped up the remainder of the poorly equipped band, except for a handful who, short on food and ammunition, have been rendered ineffective.

Guerrillas Elsewhere in Latin America

Castro's "lucha armada" has fared no better in other Latin American countries. In Venezuela, after the brutal kidnap-slaying in March 1967 of Dr. Julio Iribarren Borges, brother of the Foreign Minister, by the underground branch of the Cuban-supported Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), authorities intensified their drive against the insurgency, killing or capturing more than a dozen terrorists including a number of high-ranking Cuban Army officers. In Colombia the army and police have to contend with two separate guerrilla movements, the Castro-supported Army of National Liberation (ELN) and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). Both groups have been driven from their home bases into the jungle and have been relatively quiescent for the past six months. In Peru three Castro-backed guerrilla bands were knocked out of action by efficient Peruvian security forces within seven months of their first foray two years ago and have not been able to reorganize since. Two rival insurgency groups in Guatemala, the Cuban-backed Rebel Armed Forces (FAR) and the orthodox Communist Party (PGT) forces, have suffered severe losses since the government's intensified counterinsurgency campaign began in late 1966. And in Nicaragua, since

last August, the National Guard has inflicted heavy blows on the guerrilla arm of the local pro-Castro Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN). Nicaraguan guerrillas, like those in Bolivia, have not received sufficient support from the populace to be able to act effectively.

Latin American Communist Reactions to Guevara's Death

Until Fidel Castro officially acknowledged Guevara's death on radio and television on the night of 15 October with a great show of emotion and expression of sadness, thereby setting the pace for later Communist press eulogies, the leftist press in Latin America confined its coverage of the guerrilla leader to speculation on whether or not he was actually dead. After Castro's speech, however, the leftist press loosed a flood of articles praising Guevara as a hero of the revolution who died a martyr's death. Even many of the non-Communist Latin American newspapers echoed his praise as a "man of conviction who practiced what he preached." Privately, however, comments of Moscow-oriented Latin American Communists ranged from calling Guevara's death the conclusion of a series of errors on the part of the Cuban leader to outright attacks on Castro's theory of armed revolution -- usually implying that the fiasco in Bolivia would never have occurred under orthodox Communist leadership. In mid-October the editor of the left-leaning Peruvian newspaper Expreso summed up the view held by most orthodox Latin American Communists:

Guevara's death proves the Moscow thesis that guerrilla-led revolutions will not succeed in Latin America. The reason for their failure is simple: Castroites believe rather naively that the conditions of Batista's Cuba will carry over to South America, but the conditions are not remotely similar. In this regard, it is paradoxical that the Castroite ideologist Debray should harshly criticize the traditional Communist parties for exporting foreign experiments to Latin America when he and Guevara made the same error -- trying to apply the Cuban experience on the Andean countries.

Latin American Communist Attacks on Castro and Debray

Expreso's sweeping criticism of all three revolutionary leaders in one article is rare. However, strong Communist attacks against their concepts of revolution began after the publication in Havana in early 1967 of Debray's controversial pamphlet entitled "Revolution Within the Revolution?" which raised a storm of protests from the Moscow-oriented Latin American parties. Its concept that revolution can be exported and that armed action can be taken without the necessary conditions existing first and without the leadership of the Communist Party, belied everything that the Latin American parties stood for, and they were quick to publish their rebuttals. In July 1967 the Communist Party of Argentina (PCA) published a 39-page document ("There Can Be No 'Revolution Within The Revolution'") by Rodolfo Ghioldi, the "military expert"

The revolutionary current which emerges on a "petit bourgeois" basis usually underrates the proletariat and the Communist parties, is more disposed toward nationalism, adventurism and terrorism, and sometimes permits anti-Communist and anti-Soviet attitudes.

The Soviet endorsement of Corvalan's article is in line with the stress they place on the question of proper timing in revolutionary strategy in Latin America. The Soviets are not against Castro's theories per se, but believe that the forces of the revolutionary left are generally too weak in Latin America at this time to make armed revolution against the established governments practical. Consequently the strategy of the Moscow-oriented Communist parties is to build up their strength and influence against the day when seizure of power will be feasible. Their general feeling is that Castroism -- especially because of its succession of failures in Latin America -- has damaged the cause of Communism by making even the more permissive governments wary of the Communist threat -- resulting in the development of more restrictive measures against Communism (anti-Communist laws in Brazil, for example) and the buildup of anti-Communist military forces. The Soviets are particularly embarrassed by Castro's activities at this time when they are emphasizing "peaceful coexistence" in an effort to build up confidence among the Latin American countries with whom they wish to establish trade and cultural exchanges. It should be borne in mind, however, that the Soviets are willing to put up with a great deal of embarrassment from Castro in order to retain Cuba -- as evidenced by the continued flow of their large-scale military and economic assistance to that country.

Annoyed by Castro's latest "adventure" in Bolivia, but not wishing an open break with him, the Soviets have "saved face" by encouraging a series of mildly critical press articles against "petit bourgeois adventurism" without actually naming either Castro or Guevara as targets. On 25 October Pravda carried an article by Rudolfo Ghioldi, secretary of the outlawed Argentine Communist Party, which states, in part:

Maoism and related currents advertise extreme adventurism, adapting the "offensive theory" to any situation regardless of the presence of objective and subjective conditions. They propose that a revolution can be initiated from the outside and artificially stimulated across the borders, considering the nature of revolution isolated from the process of class struggle in the countries involved.... The most violent criticism is directed against the Soviet Union which is planning and actually carrying out the building of communism. ...Petit-bourgeois nationalists are also stubbornly insisting it is necessary for Latin American countries to proceed directly to socialist revolution, spurning the preliminary stages of agrarian, anti-imperialist and democratic revolutions. In the narrow aspiration to prove the "weakness" of invincible

of the PCA, attacking Debray's thesis by asserting that it is the working class led by the Communist Party which, having gained the support of the peasants and students, will bring about revolution by force of arms or by other means. Thus the Party defends its policy of the via pacifica, or peaceful way to power, and insists on the primacy of the established Communist Party and the urban proletariat in the revolutionary process.

In September 1967 the Brazilian Communist Party (PCB) joined the offensive against Castroism by attacking Debray in an article by Simao Bonjardim entitled "The Revolution and the Revolution of Regis Debray" (Voz Operaria, Issue No. XXXI). The PCB article introduces some new elements into its rebuttal of Debray's concepts. It denigrates Castro as a product of the Cuban revolution rather than its guiding spirit and points out that his success there was owing in no small measure to the help he got, directly and indirectly, from the United States -- affording a favorable climate for revolution which does not exist in Latin America, now that Washington is alerted and is supporting anti-guerrilla forces. Bonjardim further belittles Castro's armed struggle in Cuba by attempting to prove that the success of the revolution in that country derived, not from the force of arms, but from the concentrated pressure of the great masses of the Cuban people -- with external support from the world socialist camp. Since Debray's book is widely regarded as an expression of Castro's thinking, these sharp attacks on Debray may be viewed as attacks on Castro himself.

Soviet Reactions to Guevara's Death and to Castro

Although Guevara received some mild eulogies in the Soviet press at the time of his death, there were no commendations "for a dead hero" at Soviet ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union. The Soviet press was also significantly quiet on the subject. The Soviets are obviously annoyed with Castro these days and they undoubtedly view the Guevara affair as a setback to their ambitions in Latin America -- not because he attempted to foment a guerrilla war, but because he failed. However, the Soviets are willing to endure the personal faults of the Cuban leaders in favor of the greater prize -- retention of their Communist outpost in the Caribbean. Instead of showing their annoyance by publicly attacking Castro, they have resorted to their favorite tactic of using others to voice their views for them. On the eve of the recent LASO meeting, for example, Pravda (30 July 1967) published a long discussion of revolution in Latin America, written by the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh), Luis Corvalan. Although the piece was entitled "The Alliance of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Forces in Latin America" and in its original form (distributed in Chile) was a skillful blend of favorable and unfavorable comments on Castro and Cuba, it set the pace for later, sharper, Moscow-inspired criticisms of Castro, which appeared after the LASO meeting and again after Guevara's death. In his piece Corvalan uses the favorite Soviet term for supporters of Castro's brand of revolution -- "petit bourgeoisie."

Marxist-Leninist positions they are attempting nothing other than to repudiate the basic proposition of the unity of the world socialist system, of the proletarian movement in capitalist countries and of the national liberation movement in dependent countries.

After the death of Guevara, Luis Corvalan resumed his role of spokesman for Latin American Communist orthodoxy. In a Pravda article of 27 October 1967, he writes:

From 1918 to 1922 the Communist parties of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay and Chile were created... In all seriousness it can be said that these parties are the offspring of their own peoples and the result of the social development of their corresponding countries... In several circles of Latin America one usually speaks of these parties as traditional, orthodox and moderate. And this is only because they are true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, true to an actually traditional friendship with Lenin's party, and they long ago rejected the phraseology of revolutionary-ism. These parties incite the hatred of enemies and give rise to great fear among them. Namely these parties in any situation form the most reliable detachment of the revolutionary movement on the continent.

The above passages are typical Soviet reactions to Castro's extremism -- mild rebukes through the medium of a third party without ever referring to Castro by name. Well aware that the Soviets are prepared to endure much embarrassment from him, Castro sometimes pushes them to the limit -- as he did on the recent occasion of the Kremlin ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government had expected Cuba to be represented by President Osvaldo Dorticos; instead, Castro sent low-ranking Minister of Health Jose Ramon Machado, accompanied by a provincial party secretary. The Soviets reacted by refusing to ask Machado to speak at the ceremonies on 3 and 4 November -- although he was the only representative of a major Communist party (except those of China and Albania, which boycotted the festivities) who did not take the rostrum. On the other hand, the speakers included delegates from the Chilean and Uruguayan Communist parties, both outspoken in their criticism of Castro's revolutionary concepts.

In this manner the Soviets continue their triple-game -- criticizing Castro to mollify the orthodox Communist parties, supporting revolution in Latin America by supplying Castro with arms, equipment and money, and finally attempting to establish economic and cultural agreements with the very Latin American states they are at the same time trying to subvert!

French Marxist Regis Debray

On 17 November a Bolivian military court sentenced Regis Debray, author of "Revolution Within the Revolution?" to 30 years in prison -- the maximum penalty in Bolivia -- for his part in the guerrilla movement led by Che Guevara. Excerpts from Guevara's diary were used by the military prosecutor to help convict Debray of complicity in murder, subversion, robbery and other crimes arising from his association with Guevara. There is a certain irony in the exposure of Debray by the dead man's diary, since it was actually Debray, at the time of his arrest last April, who gave the authorities their first clue that Guevara was alive and operating in Bolivia. This knowledge encouraged them to intensify the campaign against the the guerrillas that ultimately led to Guevara's death.

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LONDON
12 October 1967

Venezuela's efforts to baulk Castro-Communism

By Romulo Betancourt

Ché Guevara died in Bolivia fighting for what he believed to be the righteous cause of revolution in Latin America—pursuing the doctrine preached so persistently by Dr. Fidel Castro, the Cuban Prime Minister. In this article the former President of Venezuela describes how his country has been the chief target of the Havana-based attempt to set

The 20 Governments forming the Organization of American States have agreed to put before the United Nations the question of Cuba's aggression towards other Latin American countries. The decision was unanimous, and a joint declaration, passed earlier with some abstentions, condemned the Castro regime for having on various occasions infiltrated men of the Cuban Army and weapons from their arsenals into Venezuela in order to stir up rural skirmishes and acts of terrorism. The countries of the west were exhorted to cooperate in a commercial boycott of Cuba.

Inevitably these agreements aroused the rage of Dr. Fidel Castro, and in one of his vitriolic speeches he denounced the meeting of Foreign Ministers as "an absurd assembly of delinquents and bandits". Facts are more convincing than insults, and facts are all that are necessary in the way of a reply to the Cuban Prime Minister.

It was the Venezuelan Government, first under my own Presidency and now under that of Dr. Raúl Leoni, which prompted the meetings of the O.A.S. on Cuba and which has on both occasions put the Cuban regime in the dock. This has been because Venezuela has been the favourite target of continuous and systematic aggression by Castro's Government. My country produces over three and a half million barrels of oil a day and is an important supplier of iron and steel to the western world. The control by Castro-Communism of a key-country not only for America but also for the west as a whole because of its richness in strategic materials, is the objective which has not been concealed but proclaimed by the Cuban Government.

They aspire to kill two birds with one stone, i.e., to weaken the non-Communist world and amply to recoup the losses resulting from their own disastrous economic policy by the domination of a country rich in minerals. Blas Roca, one of Castro's chief lieutenants, has made no secret of the objectives of his "team" with respect to Venezuela. He proclaimed them in a loud voice during an address in Havana on January 24, 1963. He said: "When the people of Venezuela achieve victory and obtain full independence from imperialism, then the whole of America will burn."

a continent on fire, WEAPONS IMPOUNDED

The Venezuelan Communists succeeded in stirring up riots in 1962. These were put down by state security forces at the cost of many lives. In 1963 police took possession of a large stock of modern war-weapons, weighing over four tons, unloaded by Cuban agents off the Venezuelan coasts, and intended for the Communists. The ordnance works from which the Cuban Government had bought these mortars, machine-guns and Nato-type rifles, testified that the serial numbers on the weapons tallied with equipment delivered to Castro.

Arms are not the only things exported to Latin America from the Havana centre of subversion. Money has also been given to promote and feed insurrections in amounts put at seven figures by Fidel Castro himself. What has always been a very small Venezuelan Communist Party is now divided into two wings: the pro-Castro and the anti-Castro. And at the closing session of the First Congress of Latin American Solidarity (O.L.A.S.) on August 27, Castro launched upon the latter a cornucopia of insults and accusations.

He said of his Venezuelan ex-comrades, the former faithful executors of his orders and instructions: "One day, perhaps, the Venezuelan people will require an account from them for the millions collected by them all over the world in the name of the guerrilla movement. . . . Some day, perhaps the Venezuelan people will require an account from these swindlers."

These dispatches of funds, weapons and irregular warfare specialists, have brought Castro and his agents no dividends from Venezuela. The so-called "partisans" have been small groups dispersed in the mountains of a huge country of over one million square kilometres, constantly fleeing from security forces, with the militant help of the country people. The fact is that in Venezuela a popular rising is impossible, because the democratic governments, from 1959 to date have carried out a real peace revolution.

The school population has doubled (*The Times*, June 18, 1965) and 135,000 farming families are working their own land through agrarian reform. "Venezuela is the only country in South America where the expansion of agri-

culture is greater than that of the population. Agrarian reform, regarded as the beginning as a costly fiasco, has started to show results" (*U.S. News and World Report*, June 13, 1966). "Venezuela is the first country in Latin America to have increased the quantity of food per head" (Dept. of Agriculture of the U.S.A. *The Western Hemisphere Agricultural situation*).

In 1957, the last year of the dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez, there were 200 syndicates (trade unions) operating; there are now 500. The gross territorial product has increased in the past decade by 10,000m. bolívares. The national income tends to be distributed less unjustly, because of collective agreements favourable to the workers, and the higher investment of the State in social security.

Frustrated in their peasant guerrilla warfare, Castro agents in Venezuela have devoted themselves to sporadic blowing up of oil pipelines and to terrorist crimes and attacks in the cities—vicious crimes in which the Cuban leaders have not hidden, but proclaimed their culpability. The kidnapping, torture and assassination of Julio Iribarren Borges, a person of no political activity, brother of the present Chancellor of Venezuela and formerly my Ambassador in London, was described by the official organ of Castro's Government, *Granma* as "an act of revolutionary justice".

Francisco Prada, head of the delegation of Venezuelan terrorists, declared to the assembly of O.L.A.S. that a high-powered grenade thrown at "La Casona", the residence of the President's family, "was an action carried out by an urban command".

The number of assassinations of police, members of the State security forces and ordinary citizens was reported to be very high. Such an insensate, indiscriminate form of killing recalls the terrorist nihilism of the last century, so vividly described by Roman Gary in his novel *Lady L*.

This evidence of the almost pathological obsession of the Cuban regime against the peace and life of the Venezuelans explains the reason for a rancour existing in my country which nobody attempts to hide against Castro and his underlings. But also they cannot understand the lack of cooperation of European countries and Japan on the sanctions agreed by the American nations: the commercial boycott against

a system which has no respect for the rights of people and violates the principle of civilized coexistence.

Venezuelans and other Latin Americans cannot understand why five nations—none of them from the East—in 1966 exported \$171m. worth of goods to Cuba and imported \$88m. from Cuba (the countries are Britain, Spain, Canada, France, and Japan).

PORTS BOYCOTT

I discussed this problem with Mr. Harold Wilson in 1964. He was not Prime Minister then; I explained that the Venezuelan port workers were not prepared to unload vessels flying flags of countries continuing to trade with Cuba. They were asking for solidarity with Venezuela to punish the challenging international conduct of Cuba, by applying to it similar measures to those

negotiated by Mr. Wilson and obtained from the United Nations at the beginning of 1967 against Rhodesia: the trade boycott.

Mr. Wilson did not appear to attach great importance to my plan. But what was foreseen is in fact happening. Workers in Venezuelan ports have declined to unload over 30 ships from countries still trading with Cuba. Other powerful port syndicates in the United States and Latin America appear to be prepared to support them. It is well known that Venezuela is one of the most important importing countries in Latin America; that her traders pay promptly for their imports, because the country has solid reserves of hard currency and her oil is of particular interest for the supply and security of the West, particularly now with the trouble in the Middle East and North Africa.

BALTIMORE SUN

29 October 1967

Guerrilla Principles and Practice

What Comes after Guevara?

By DANIEL JAMES

Mexico City.

Now that Fidel Castro and the State Department are both agreed that the famous guerrilla leader, Ernesto Che Guevara, has indeed met his end in Bolivia, the Cuban regime and the Latin American Communists face some hard questions. The principal one is, "What effect will Che's death, and the annihilation of his guerrilla band in Bolivia, have on the future of the guerrilla and Communist movements in Latin America?"

It is beginning to grow clear as the facts continue coming out of Bolivia that Guevara was not the master of guerrilla warfare the world had believed he was. His death appears to have ended that myth about him, for in Bolivia he violated just about every rule in the guerrilla handbook, including his own as well as Mao Tse-tung's.

Contrary to his own teaching, Guevara organized in Bolivia (in November, 1966, according to a diary he left behind) a guerrilla band that had absolutely no contact with the masses. It existed in almost total isolation even from the few hundred peasants who were its neighbors in the remote, rugged southeastern region where Guevara based his men.

Furthermore, Guevara's band, which the latest Bolivian Army accounts place at about 60 men and certainly never numbered more

than 100, was not composed of peasants or workers but principally of declassed people—revolutionary adventurers like himself, intellectuals, Bohemians, native Communists, and so on. Che, then, went into Bolivia to make a revolution without the participation of the Bolivian people. Indeed, as he complained in his diary, he found even his own neighbors to be utterly unsympathetic to his cause, "as impenetrable as rocks."

It is incredible, moreover, that Guevara should have selected Bolivia for his revolutionary attempt, since it had already experienced an agrarian revolution. This was back in 1952, seven long years before Castro made his agrarian reform in Cuba. Guevara should have had first-hand knowledge of this, since he passed through Bolivia in 1954 at the very beginning of his revolutionary odyssey.

Guevara committed many violations of guerrilla tenets, but his critical error—and Castro's as well, for the Cuban leader gave the Bolivian venture his support—was political rather than military. That was the belief that a revolution can be made in a backward country, regardless of conditions there, with a handful of guerrilla experts spearheading it. As Guevara put it at the very beginning of his "Guerrilla Warfare":

"It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them."

That is the very essence of Castroism, or Guevarism. In Bolivia, the idea was proven utterly erroneous, and fatal. Che's "fracaso," in other words, was ideological and political as well as military. He demonstrated conclusively that it is impossible for Havana to mount a revolution elsewhere in Latin America, in disregard of local conditions, even with the most meticulous preparation and with the best guerrilla commander available.

The same idea had already proved fatal in a dozen countries where the Cuban Communist regime has tried to stir up revolutions since its inception in 1959, but that was not generally recognized. It has been the underlying cause of the crushing failure of guerrilla movements in Colombia, Guatemala, Peru and Venezuela, most conspicuously, notwithstanding the fact that they enjoyed greater support there at times than Guevara's band ever did in Bolivia. Indeed, even as the Bolivian drama was unfolding, events there obscured the simultaneous defeat of still another guerrilla effort; this, in Nicaragua, where one would have supposed that a struggle against the unpopular Somoza dynasty would have aroused enthusiastic mass support.

Considerable debate has been going on among Latin left-wing extremists for some time over the efficacy of the road of armed revolution under present conditions in Latin America. That debate was

generated by the earlier guerrilla defeats in Colombia, Guatemala and Venezuela, principally, and has led to many splits. (Splits, that is, within the guerrilla organizations, as well as between extreme Communists and "revisionists" of the Moscow school.) With the Guevara myth demolished, it would appear that disillusionment in his basic theories, and particularly in the concept of the guerrilla as the motive force of revolution, might logically be expected to spread throughout the Latin "New Left."

Fidel Castro, in his doleful broadcast announcing Guevara's death, promised that "more Che's" would arise to take his place. But where will they come from? Most of the would-be Che's—Luis Turcios, of Guatemala; Camilo Torres, of Colombia; Fabricio Ojeda, of Venezuela—are dead, or—as in the case of Peru's Hugo Blanco—in jail.

Furthermore, whom would the new Che's lead? The most promising guerrilla movements, in the above-named countries, are practically on their last legs. They have sustained so many crushing defeats in battle, and in the political arena as well, over recent years that they simply do not have the manpower to engage in new campaigns no matter how many more Che's came into being.

Does this mean that the guerrilla threat in Latin America is ended? Unfortunately, no. As long as conditions are as bad as they are throughout the continent, and as long as there are young extremists still willing to stake their lives on revolution, the threat will remain. In time, the Bolivian wound will heal, and extremist leaders such as Castro will try to transform the "fracaso" into a "victory" through tortuous Communist dialectics. Already, a campaign has started in Cuba to apotheosize Che.

As for Castro, though shocked by the destruction of Guevara and his guerrilla band, he is quite capable of bouncing back and talking himself into sponsoring a new guerrilla effort somewhere. It can be taken as an axiom that, as long as he governs Cuba, the mischief-making capacity of his regime will remain about as great as it has been since he took power.

It is quite possible, however, that the voice of caution and moderation represented by the Moscow-lining Communists, in and out of

Cuba, will get a more respectful hearing from Castro henceforth. Moscow itself, even while crying crocodile tears over Che, is already saying "I-told-you-so" to Castro, and he is being reminded that Premier Kosygin warned him against further revolutionary adventures only a few months back.

The likelihood seems to be, one gathers from observers, that Castro, for a time at least, will pull in his horns and soft-pedal, or even discontinue efforts to "export" his revolution. At the same time, he may well go on making fire-eating revolutionary speeches.

It is not impossible that Castro will try a twofold policy of supporting insurrections wherever feasible, while, at the same time, encouraging more peaceful efforts to establish communism in other Latin countries. He may adopt, in short, what amounts to classic Soviet doctrine, but with less emphasis than Moscow places on the "soft" or "peaceful" side.

It would be foolhardy, however, to assume that the leopard will change his spots. "The main Communist campaign in Latin America is still ahead of us," warns Gen. Robert W. Porter, commander-in-chief of the United States Southern Command based in Panama and under whom were trained the Bolivian Army units who performed so ably against Guevara.

What Porter's statement seems to suggest is that a bigger war may have to be fought once the Latin American Communists recover from the Bolivian defeat and regroup themselves.

To prepare for that possibility, it would seem that the American republics must do more than be vigilant, as the recent Washington meeting of American Foreign Ministers stressed. Though called for the purpose of dealing with Cuban "aggression," a charge well-documented by the Venezuelan Government which made it, the foreign ministers skirted the issue. Yet some way must be found of disposing of the real "foco insurreccional" in Latin America, which is the Castro regime.

Until that is done, the Bolivian struggle may have to be refought again and again.

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Guevara Legacy

Castroite Rebels in Latin America

Find Troubles Deepening

By NORMAN GALL

CARACAS—The death of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Latin America's most glamorous guerrilla warrior, is but one more step in the deterioration of the conditions of guerrilla warfare in the hemisphere.

While Fidel Castro continues to trumpet armed revolution throughout Latin America, and in the Negro slums of the U.S. as well, Communist guerrilla insurgencies formed in recent years with Castro's aid and inspiration are sinking into deeper and deeper trouble.

These reversals have come swiftly in Peru, Bolivia (where Guevara was killed), Colombia and Guatemala. And here in Venezuela, after seven years of terrorism and guerrilla warfare, the colossal drama of armed Communist insurrection seems to be entering its final stages. Shrunken, divided and deeply infiltrated by government agents, the insurrectional movement has been staggering through a psychological depression. Its crippled capacity for action contrasts sharply to the cyclonic urban terrorism of 1962-63 and the expanding rural guerrilla activity of three years ago.

Over the years the Castro Communist Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN) has shown amazing resilience in the face of military and police pressure, and its surviving—though fragmented—elements are still capable of spectacular strikes. But these actions are becoming more and more infrequent and are being met, increasingly, with crushing blows from the army and police. Moreover, the "orthodox" Venezuelan Communist Party, once the hard core of the FALN guerrilla and terrorist organization, is suing for peace.

'Repugnant Opportunism'

The party's switch to coexistence tactics was animated by hopes for profitable alliances in next year's presidential election campaign, and for preserving its trained cadres against suicidal destruction at the hands of the police. However, Castro has branded these tactics "cowardice and repugnant opportunism" while plugging for continuation of the "armed struggle" under his own banner.

Attacking Moscow-line Communists in Latin America (and Russian soft-pedaling in the hemisphere) in probably his most important theoretical statement to date, Castro said in a March 13 speech at the University of Havana:

"Our position toward Communist parties will be based on strictly revolutionary principles. To the parties . . . that take a consistently revolutionary position, we will give total support. But in any country where those that call themselves Communists do not know how to fulfill their (revolutionary) duties, we will support those who, though not labeled Communists, behave like true Communists in action and struggle. This is because all true revolutionaries, who carry within themselves revolutionary vocation and spirit, will always terminate in Marxism!"

These "revolutionary principles" so far have not worked out in practice.

-In Peru, three Castroite guerrilla bands were knocked out of action in 1965-66—their leaders either killed or jailed—within seven months of executing their first ambush.

-In Guatemala, two rival insurgency movements that had been gaining ground steadily for four years have been decimated over the past year by an army campaign of rural slaughter in which peasants have been impressed into right-wing vigilante organizations (using weapons supplied in the U. S. military aid program) that have burned villages and killed roughly 2,000 persons in the Guatemalan guerrilla zone.

-In Bolivia, last spring a large guerrilla training base (disguised as a farm) was accidentally discovered in the jungle along with evidence indicating the presence of Guevara, who had not been seen publicly since 1965. The guerrillas in Bolivia, including some Cuban army officers, apparently have dispersed after a few clashes with Bolivian army patrols in which both sides have suffered heavy losses.

-In Columbia, the army has driven two separate guerrilla movements from home bases into marginal jungle areas from which they have not been heard in six months. In Ecuador, Paraguay and Argentina, entire guerrilla units have been captured while still training and before they could execute a single attack.

It is quite possible that most of these guerrilla movements would have met little political or military resistance if Latin American regular armies had not been backstopped by nearly \$2 billion of U. S. arms donations and training since 1950. While some of the major objectives of the Alliance for Progress have not been achieved, there has been a steady liberalizing trend among Latin American governments and in some cases a notable improvement in peasant living standards. But most of these one-crop export economies face an uncertain if not plainly bleak future, and the tremendous social tensions in the region could drive important sectors of the military, even officers trained in the U. S., into collaborating with future guerrilla movements.

"Fresh outbursts of warfare will arise in these and other American countries, as has already occurred in Bolivia," Guevara announced in the last public statement attributed to him. "Many will die, victims of their own errors. Others will fall in the difficult combat that is near. New fighters and new leaders will emerge in the heat of the revolutionary struggle. We must wage a generalized war whose tactical goal will be to draw the knee enemy out of his surroundings, force him to fight in places where his living conditions clash with the actual situation. The U.S. soldier has technical know-how and is backed by resources of a frightening magnitude. What the enemy essentially lacks is motivation. His most bitter rivals of today—the Vietnamese soldiers—possess that to a maximum degree."

This strategy is being severely tested as the Cubans desperately improvise to keep the Venezuelan insurgency alive. For this limited end, and at great risk, Castro has sent Cuban guerrilla specialists into Venezuela to replace

the Venezuelans who have fallen or have abandoned the FALN insurgency as a hopeless cause.

The process of slowdown and destruction of the FALN underground organization has advanced considerably since the widely publicized kidnap-murder March 1 of Julio Iribarren Borges, brother of Venezuela's foreign minister and former social security director. Police attributed the killing to the FALN's "special sabotage command," its main fundraising and terrorist group in the Caracas area.

According to captured FALN documents, the gunman was identified as a professional thug named Eleazar "Loco Fabricio" Aristiguieta, who joined the FALN in 1962. The FALN delegate in Havana called the Iribarren murder an act of "revolutionary justice" in reprisal for the "disappearance and murder" of two FALN leaders. But Castro himself said a few days later, "Our criterion is that revolutionaries should avoid procedures that become an instrument for the enemy: Killing a man after kidnapping him. We never did this, whatever our indignation at the ferocities of the enemy."

And the three principal party leaders who organized the "armed struggle" and who only three weeks before escaped from the San Carlos Military Prison in Caracas condemned the deed as "playing into the hands of the country's most reactionary forces, blocking the recuperation of the people's movement and depressing it further."

Scrawl on the Tiles

At 2 p.m., "Loco Fabricio" was about to eat lunch in a small house in a working class district when the building was blasted by machine gun fire from political police agents surrounding it. With him was a former law student, Luis Vera Betancourt. The initial blast sent "Loco Fabricio" leaping through a window and onto the roof of the next house, where he was dropped into the garden below by another machine gun burst. Vera Betancourt, a veteran delegate at world youth congresses, was trapped in the tiled bathroom, wrecked by gunfire, where he scrawled on the wall: "I am wounded and helpless." His body was shown to reporters later. He had written to his wife a few days before his death, "Sometimes I think that nothing in the world is worth the price I have paid. I am sustained only by the idea that I am fighting for the liberty of my people."

The death of these two men was the climax of swiftly breaking events that started the previous day when FALN terrorists robbed a suburban bank of \$60,000 without interference. Within three hours, however, police seized a right-wing extremist named Adolfo Meinhardt Lares, a former arms merchant who had joined the FALN as part of its continuing recruitment of right-wingers. Police said Meinhardt began talking profusely just after his arrest, identifying himself as "Comandante Milkos," the head of the FALN Caracas organization. The police's swift action in rounding up 220 FALN suspects and announcing solution to a dozen unsolved crimes gave weight to the version that a major labor of infiltration had borne fruit.

On the next morning the police found Sgt. Manuel Espinosa Diaz of the Cuban army huddled in a penthouse in one of Caracas' wealthy neighborhoods. He was the guest of a FALN guerrilla leader, an industrial chemist named Felix Farias Salcedo, an expert in the fabrication of incendiary bombs. After police had shot Farias dead in the street below, they found \$45,000 in bank loot inside the penthouse, along with a large arms cache. Police said Sgt. Espinosa admitted participating in the bank holdup the day before, but stressed that he did so under duress "because I came here as a guerrilla fighter and not a stickup man."

Radio Havana waited five days after the death of the three FALN leaders before announcing to the world: "The Venezuelan Fatherland must logically sense the loss of such valued citizens." In those few who survived Che Guevara's spirit lives on.